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**THE HOBBY-HORSE AT ABBOTS' BROMLEY.**



**THE HORN-DANCE AT ABBOTS BROMLEY.**



**THE JOURNAL**  
**OF THE**  
**British**  
**Archaeological Association,**

**ESTABLISHED 1843,**

**FOR THE**  
**ENCOURAGEMENT AND PROSECUTION OF RESEARCHES**  
**INTO THE ARTS AND MONUMENTS OF THE**  
**EARLY AND MIDDLE AGES.**

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**NEW SERIES, VOL. II.—1896.**

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**London :**  
**PRINTED FOR THE ASSOCIATION.**

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## PREFACE.

THE SECOND VOLUME OF THE NEW SERIES OF THE *JOURNAL OF THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION* for the year 1896 contains twenty-seven of the principal Papers which were laid before the Congress at Stoke-upon-Trent in the summer of 1895, or during the evening meetings of the Session 1894-5 in London, as well as a record of the Proceedings of the Congress and evening meetings. The Volume has, as usual, been illustrated with many plates, which have been contributed by the liberality of the authors of the Papers to which they relate, and by this means the Association has been enabled to give a more pictorial appearance to the present Volume than would otherwise have been possible.

The contents will be found, as is generally the case, very miscellaneous ; but the absence of any very important or unusual archæological discovery which has characterised the past three years will be still observable in this.

But if we have no remarkably new facts to record, nevertheless we are spared the need of recording any further great losses of members, which was so marked a feature in our last year's life. On the other hand, our recent Congress in London and the Home Counties, which has produced a valuable collection of Papers to be embodied in the new Volume for 1897, has also brought us many adhesions of new members to recruit the loss of old supporters. It is to the succession of new names that we must look, if the Association is to be perennial, for material aid to empower us to continue indefinitely the cherishing of the divine flame of knowledge which has brought us together in the first instance, and preserved our integrity for upwards of half a century.

W. DE GRAY BIRCH.

31 December 1896.

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## British Archaeological Association.

THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION was founded in 1843, to investigate, preserve, and illustrate all ancient monuments of the history, manners, customs, and arts of our forefathers, in furtherance of the principles on which the Society of Antiquaries of London was established; and to aid the objects of that Institution by rendering available resources which had not been drawn upon, and which, indeed, did not come within the scope of any antiquarian or literary society.

The means by which the Association proposed to effect this object are:

1. By holding communication with Correspondents throughout the kingdom, and with provincial Antiquarian Societies, as well as by intercourse with similar Associations in foreign countries.

2. By holding frequent and regular Meetings for the consideration and discussion of communications made by the Associates, or received from Correspondents.

3. By promoting careful observation and preservation of antiquities discovered in the progress of public works, such as railways, sewers, foundations of buildings, etc.

4. By encouraging individuals or associations in making researches and excavations, and affording them suggestions and co-operation.

5. By opposing and preventing, as far as may be practicable, all injuries with which Ancient National Monuments of every description may from time to time be threatened.

6. By using every endeavour to spread abroad a correct taste for Archæology, and a just appreciation of Monuments of Ancient Art, so as ultimately to secure a general interest in their preservation.

7. By collecting accurate drawings, plans, and descriptions of Ancient National Monuments, and, by means of Correspondents, preserving authentic memorials of all antiquities not later than 1750, which may from time to time be brought to light.

8. By establishing a *Journal* devoted exclusively to the objects of the Association, as a means of spreading antiquarian information and maintaining a constant communication with all persons interested in such pursuits.

9. By holding Annual Congresses in different parts of the country, to examine into their special antiquities, to promote an interest in them, and thereby conduce to their preservation.

Thirteen public Meetings are held from November to June, on the Wednesdays given on the next page, during the session, at eight o'clock in the evening, for the reading and discussion of papers, and for the inspection of all objects of antiquity forwarded to the Council. To these Meetings Associates have the privilege of introducing friends.

Persons desirous of becoming Associates, or of promoting in any way the objects of the Association, are requested to apply either personally or by letter to the Secretaries; or to the Sub-Treasurer, Samuel Rayson, Esq., 32 Sackville Street, W., to whom subscriptions, by Post Office Order or otherwise, crossed "Bank of England, W. Branch", should be transmitted.

The payment of ONE GUINEA annually is required of the Associates, or FIFTEEN GUINEAS as a Life Subscription, by which the Subscribers are entitled to a copy of the quarterly *Journal* as published, and permitted to acquire the publications of the Association at a reduced price.

Associates are required to pay an entrance fee of ONE GUINEA, except when the intending Associate is already a member of the Society of Antiquaries, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology, in which case the entrance-fee is remitted. The annual payments are due in advance.

Papers read before the Association should be transmitted to the *Editor* of the Association, 32, Sackville Street; if they are accepted by the Council they will be printed in the volumes of the *Journal*, and they will be considered to be the property of the Association. Every author is responsible for the statements contained in his paper. The published *Journals* may be had of the Treasurer and other officers of the Association at the following prices:—Vol. I, out of print. The other volumes, £1:1 each to Associates; £1:11:6 to the public, with the exception of certain volumes in excess of stock, which may be had by members at a reduced price on application to the Honorary Secretaries. The special volumes of TRANSACTIONS of the CONGRESSES held at WINCHESTER and at GLOUCESTER are charged to the public, £1:11:6; to the Associates, £1:1.

In addition to the *Journal*, published every quarter, it has been found necessary to publish occasionally another work entitled *Collectanea Archæologica*. It embraces papers whose length is too great for a periodical journal, and such as require more extensive illustration than can be given in an octavo form. It is, therefore, put forth in quarto, uniform with the *Archæologia* of the Society of Antiquaries, and sold to the public at 7s. 6d. each Part, but may be had by the Associates at 5s. (*See coloured wrapper of the quarterly Parts.*)

An Index for the first thirty volumes of the *Journal* has been prepared by Walter de Gray Birch, Esq., F.S.A., Honorary Secretary. Present price to Associates, 5s.; to the public, 7s. 6d. Another Index, to volumes xxxi-xlii, the *Collectanea Archæologica*, and the two extra vols. for the Winchester and Gloucester Congresses, also now ready (uniform). Price to Associates, 10s. 6d.; to the public, 15s.

Public Meetings held on Wednesday evenings, at No. 32, Sackville Street, Piccadilly, at 8 o'clock precisely.

The Meetings for Session 1895-96 are as follows:—1895, Nov. 6, 20; Dec. 4. 1896, Jan. 15; Feb. 5, 19; March 4, 18; April 1, 15; May 6 (Annual General Meeting), 20; June 3.

Visitors will be admitted by order from Associates; or by writing their names and those of the members by whom they are introduced. The Council Meetings are held at Sackville Street on the same day as the Public Meetings, at half-past 4 o'clock precisely.



## RULES OF THE ASSOCIATION.

---

**THE BRITISH ARCHÆOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION** shall consist of Patrons, Associates, Local Members of Council, Honorary Correspondents, and Honorary Foreign Members.

1. The Patrons,—a class confined to members of the royal family or other illustrious persons.
2. The Associates shall consist of ladies or gentlemen elected by the Council, and who, upon the payment of one guinea entrance fee (except when the intending Associate is already a Member of the Society of Antiquaries of London, of the Royal Archæological Institute, or of the Society of Biblical Archæology), and a sum of not less than one guinea annually, or fifteen guineas as a life-subscription, shall become entitled to receive a copy of the quarterly *Journal* published by the Association, to attend all meetings, vote in the election of Officers and Council, and admit one visitor to each of the ordinary meetings of the Association.
3. The Local Members of Council shall consist of such of the Associates elected from time to time by the Council, on the nomination of two of its members, who shall promote the views and objects of the Association in their various localities, and report the discovery of antiquarian objects to the Council. There shall be no limit to their number, but in their election the Council shall have regard to the extent and importance of the various localities which they will represent. The Local Members shall be entitled to attend the meetings of the Council, to advise them, and report on matters of archæological interest which have come to their notice; but they shall not take part in the general business of the Council, or be entitled to vote on any subject.
4. The Honorary Correspondents,—a class embracing all interested in the investigation and preservation of antiquities; to be qualified for election on the recommendation of the President or Patron, or of two Members of the Council, or of four Associates.
5. The Honorary Foreign Members shall be confined to illustrious or learned foreigners who may have distinguished themselves in antiquarian pursuits.

## ADMINISTRATION.

To conduct the affairs of the Association there shall be annually elected a President, fifteen Vice-Presidents, a Treasurer, Sub-Treasurer, two Honorary Secretaries, and eighteen other Associates, all of whom shall constitute the Council, and two Auditors without seats in the Council.

The past Presidents shall be *ex officio* Vice-Presidents for life, with the same *status* and privileges as the elected Vice-Presidents, and take precedence in the order of service.

## ELECTION OF OFFICERS AND COUNCIL.

1. The President, Vice-Presidents, members of Council, and Officers, shall be elected at the Annual General Meeting, to be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year. Such election shall be conducted by ballot, which shall continue open during at least one hour. A majority of votes shall determine the election. Every Associate balloting shall deliver his name to the Chairman, and afterwards put his list, filled up, into the balloting box. The presiding officer shall nominate two Scrutators, who, with one or more of the Secretaries, shall examine the lists and report thereon to the General Meeting.

2. If any member of the Council, elected at the Annual General Meeting, shall not have attended three meetings of the Council, at least, during the current session, the Council shall, at their meeting held next before the Annual Meeting, by a majority of votes of the members present, recommend whether it is desirable that such member shall be eligible for re-election or not, and such recommendation shall be submitted to the Annual Meeting on the ballot papers.

## CHAIRMAN OF MEETINGS.

1. The President, when present, shall take the chair at all meetings of the Association. He shall regulate the discussions and enforce the laws of the Association.

2. In the absence of the President, the chair shall be taken by the Treasurer, or by the senior or only Vice-President present, and willing to preside; or in default, by the senior elected Member of Council or some officer present.

3. The Chairman shall, in addition to his own vote, have a casting vote when the suffrages are equal.

## THE TREASURER.

The Treasurer shall hold the finances of the Association, discharge all debts previously presented to and approved of by the Council, and shall make up his accounts to the 31st of December

in each year, and having had his accounts audited he shall lay them before the Annual Meeting. Two-thirds of the life-subscriptions received by him shall be invested in such security as the Council may approve.

#### THE SECRETARIES.

The Secretaries shall attend all meetings of the Association, transmit notices to the Members, and read the letters and papers communicated to the Association. The notices of meetings of the Council shall state the business to be transacted, including the names of any candidates for the office of Vice-President or Members of Council, but not the names of proposed Associates or Honorary Correspondents.

#### THE COUNCIL.

1. The Council shall superintend and regulate the proceedings of the Association, and elect the Associates; whose names, when elected, are to be read over at the ordinary meetings.

2. The Council shall meet on the days on which the ordinary meetings of the Association are held, or as often as the business of the Association shall require, and five members shall be a quorum.

3. An extraordinary meeting of the Council may be held at any time by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by five of its members, stating the purpose thereof, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices of such meeting to every member.

4. The Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in any of the offices or among its own members, notice of proposed election being given at the immediately preceding Council meeting.

5. The Council shall submit a report of its proceedings to the Annual Meeting.

#### PROCEEDINGS OF THE ASSOCIATION.

1. The ordinary meetings of the Association shall be held on the first and third Wednesdays in November, the first Wednesday in December, the third Wednesday in January, the first and third Wednesdays in the months from February to April inclusive, the third Wednesday in May, and the first Wednesday in June, at 8 o'clock in the evening precisely, for the purpose of inspecting and conversing upon the various objects of antiquity transmitted to the Association, and such other business as the Council may appoint.

The Annual General Meeting of the Association shall be held on the first Wednesday in May in each year, at 4.30 P.M. precisely at which the President, Vice-Presidents, and officers of the Association shall be elected, and such other business shall be conducted

as may be deemed advisable for the well-being of the Association ; but none of the rules of the Association shall be repealed or altered unless twenty-eight days' notice of intention to propose such repeal or alteration shall have been given to the Secretaries, and they shall have notified the same to the Members of the Council at their meeting held next after receipt of the notice.

2. An extraordinary general meeting of the Association may at any time be convened by order of the President, or by a requisition signed by twenty Associates, stating the object of the proposed meeting, addressed to the Secretaries, who shall issue notices accordingly, stating therein the object for which the meeting is called.

3. A General Public Meeting or Congress shall be held annually in such town or place in the United Kingdom, at such time and for such period as shall be considered most advisable by the Council, to which Associates, Correspondents, and others, shall be admitted by ticket, upon the payment of one guinea, which shall entitle the bearer, and also a lady, to be present at all meetings either for the reading of papers, the exhibition of antiquities, the holding of *conversazioni*, or the making of excursions to examine any objects of antiquarian interest.

4. The Officers having the management of the Congress shall submit their accounts to the Council at their next meeting after the Congress shall have been held, and a detailed account of their personal expenses, accompanied by as many vouchers as they can produce.

#### ANNULMENT OF MEMBERSHIP.

If there shall be any ground alleged, other than the non-payment of subscriptions, for the removal of any Associate, such ground shall be submitted to the Council at a Special Meeting to be summoned for that purpose, of which notice shall be given to the Associate complained of, and in default of his attending such meeting of Council, or giving a satisfactory explanation to the Council, he shall, if a resolution be passed at such meeting, or any adjournment thereof, by two-thirds at least of the members then present for such removal, thereupon cease to be a member of the Association. Provided that no such resolution shall be valid unless nine members of the Council at least (including the Chairman) shall be present when the resolution shall be submitted to the meeting.

## LIST OF CONGRESSES.

Congresses have been already held at		Under the Presidency of
1844	CANTERBURY . . . . .	THE LORD A. D. CONYNTHAM, K.C.H., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1845	WINCHESTER . . . . .	
1846	GLOUCESTER . . . . .	
1847	WARWICK . . . . .	
1848	WORCESTER . . . . .	
1849	CHESTER . . . . .	
1850	MANCHESTER & LANCASTER	J. HEYWOOD, Esq., M.P., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1851	DERBY . . . . .	SIR OSWALD MOSLEY, Bt., D.C.L.
1852	NEWARK . . . . .	THE DUKE OF NEWCASTLE
1853	ROCHESTER . . . . .	RALPH BERNAL, Esq., M.A.
1854	CHEPSTOW . . . . .	
1855	ISLE OF WIGHT . . . . .	THE EARL OF PERTH AND MELFORT
1856	BRIDGWATER AND BATH }	
1857	NORWICH . . . . .	THE EARL OF ALBEMARLE, F.S.A.
1858	SALISBURY . . . . .	THE MARQUESS OF AILESBUURY
1859	NEWBURY . . . . .	THE EARL OF CARNARVON, F.S.A.
1860	SHREWSBURY . . . . .	BERRIAH BOTFIELD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.
1861	EXETER . . . . .	SIR STAFFORD H. NORTHCOTE, Bt.
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INAUGURAL ADDRESS.  
NOTES ON NORTH STAFFORDSHIRE.

BY W. S. BROUGH, ESQ.

*(Read at the Stoke-on-Trent Congress, 12 Aug. 1895.)*



THE name of Staffordshire does, I fear, frequently convey the idea of a land of smoky chimneys, blast-furnaces, cinder-banks, grimy people, and uninteresting towns; and I welcome the visit of this Association into North Staffordshire in order that we may help to temper this notion, and leave in your minds a pleasant recollection of wealth of scenery; for I notice that in its well-earned holiday your Association, in its investigation of historical objects of antiquity, is not indifferent to picturesque surroundings.

This county has so many interests and its inhabitants varied pursuits as to make it remarkable. We have the iron industry, the coal industry—for we are rich in minerals—the pottery industry, the silk industry; and we possess extensive acreage, reaching from Wolverhampton to Stoke, of rich loams for the plough and old deep turf for the dairy.

I am sure, then, you will pardon me as a moorlander



if I solicit your kind attention to a few words on some of the county's most interesting features, especially such as appeal to a Society like yours, and as some of them relate to a time when certainty cannot be insisted upon. I do this humbly, with an anxiety to be set right where my conclusions are not in harmony with some of your own. But I speak to you as one who takes a deep interest in these early records, and I promise I will not ask for that attention long.

I would rather have chosen to confine myself to the British period and its remains, but my paper must, of course, necessarily be desultory; and perhaps as introductory and elementary this will not be deemed out of place.

I think it will be necessary to call to mind a few leading events, as far as they can be known, guarding against a mere recital of names without much interest except locally. I will touch, then, lightly upon them with the hope that they may form a starting-point for some of the after discussions. I have purposely omitted, as far as possible, allusion to places we shall visit, and of which we hope to hear fully from the leader of the day.

This county belonged to the ancient Cornavii of the Britons. Sir W. Beetham calls it the Holy District, or the Country of the Priesthood, the division of Flavia Cæsariensis of the Romans; and the kingdom of *Mercia* the March of Borderland, the Mercians being the "Men of the March".

The Venerable Bede calls the inhabitants "Angli Mediteranei", the Midland English. The Saxon name *Staffordscyre*, from the shire town about which there has been controversy, the generally accepted derivation being from a shallow place on the river that could be crossed with a staff only, but Green considers *Stone-ford* correct.

Professor Rhys says the Celts came, no one knows how long ago, and he groups them into two, the national name of the one being *Gaidhel*, pronounced *Gael*, formerly written by themselves *Goidel*; the other represented in point of speech by the people of Wales and the Bretons, the Welsh form of the name being *Brython*, and with these may be classified the ancient

Gauls. The Goidels were the first to conquer Britain, and had probably been here for centuries when the Brythons or Gauls came and drove them westward.

The Goidels, of course, had done the same with other possessors formerly, supposed by Herodotus to be the people called Kynesii or Kynetes, which signifies dog-men, a non-Aryan people. Archæological investigations show that, though perhaps he did not know it, his statement covered our islands when he speaks of the people furthest to the west, nearer to the setting sun than even the Celtæ.

If any trace of the Goidels be left, surely it might be found in this wild country of N. Staffordshire, or in the parts of Scotland north of Perth. In Elton's *Origins*, we find that one Pytheas, in the time of Alexander the Great, visited this island, being an intrepid navigator, and made many observations.

We learn, too, from other writers one interesting fact : the inhabitants understood how to make drink from barley ; and the Celtic word is still the same for *Beer*, a drink for the good brewing of which this county has always been celebrated ; and one not less so for us to-day, that these people made no distinction of sex in point of Government.

The most ancient name of the country was Albion, and this name was retained by the Goidelic branch long after the name Britaines or Britain was adopted, into the origin of which name I must not enter, simply quoting the quaint words of Camden, "for shall one of my mean capacity presume to give sentence on a point of so much consequence ! I refer the controversy entirely to the whole body of learned Antiquaries ; and leaving every man freely to the liberty of his own judgment shall not be much concerned." At the same time, he gives his adherence to the derivation from the word Brith or Brit : painted, stained, spotted, dyed or coloured, which the Britons were.

We find among the old writers the notion that Brutus was the reputed founder of the race, he having Trojan origin ; and still others, going farther into the dim receding past, claim for it even a divine extraction.

Camden, commenting upon this theory of Brutus, gives Geoffrey of Monmouth, to whom I shall again refer, the sole credit of it, and classes him with others who, abusing their parts and misspending their time, without any ground of truth forged for the Scotch their Scots, for the Irish their Hibernus, for the Danes their Danus, etc. At the same time, he gives his own conjecture of a descent from Japhet's eldest son Gomer, who gave the name Gomerius, afterwards called Cimbrii and Cimmerii.

It is by some contended that the Iceni were the earliest inhabitants of this district; Tacitus, for instance, falling in with this view, and to which Dr. Plot gives a partial adherence, adducing as evidence Ikenild St.; while Ptolemy and Camden assert that the Cornavii or Cornabii were the original dwellers. Dr. Wilkes, quoted by Shaw, urges that the Ordovices were the original inhabitants of this county, who, being settled perhaps only in Shropshire, extended their dominions afterwards over all the mountains in North Wales on one side, and over all the woods of Staffordshire on the other, and over all the plains of East Cheshire to the north of the latter. Thus, together with various conquests, they became a great people, and assumed or received the distinguished appellation of Ordovices, signifying a brave people. But their empire was soon demolished by various assailants; and this county, together with Shropshire, became the possession of the Cornavii, a people so called from their situation, a promontory by the sea, which was expressed by the Britons by the word *Keren-av*, the horn of the sea. In Cheshire the Cornavii are expressly declared by Richard to have been originally situated. From thence must they have sallied forth and spread their dominions over the rest of the county, over all Staffordshire and other their possessions, owning Condate for their capital, *Conda-Te* signifying their *principal* abode.

We are dependent largely for what we know of the occupation of the Britons upon tradition and the very early records of monkish historians, who drew somewhat upon their imagination, and are forced to fall back upon indications given by archæology.

Nennius wrote his history about the year 858 A.D. Gildas, or St. Gildas, lived, too, in the ninth century. He was called *Sapiens*, or the Wise. A Gildas was the contemporary of King Arthur, who slew his brother ; but whether Gildas the historian was St. Gildas there is much dispute. Gildas is much too severe upon the Britons.

I agree with Mr. Molyneux, an antiquary of no mean merit, and a highly esteemed member of our local Society ; however low and degraded in their habits these earlier settlers may have been, however ignorant of the ameliorating influences of civilised life, and however destitute of any idea of morality, and the existence of a Higher Power, the time came when they as a race had risen to a high state of civilisation, and in their military operations, religious ceremonies, funeral customs, and social acquirements showed that they had become by mere force of character, subsequently perfected by education and national spirit, the nucleus, so to speak, of a great, a brave and generous people.

We are indebted to Cæsar for much that we know of this country in his day, but perhaps more so to Tacitus, who, being the son-in-law of the Conqueror Agricola, had opportunity of gaining more accurate knowledge. Most probably the commentary of Richard of Westminster throws the greatest light upon the general face of this island in those ancient days.

We learn from various historians that the Phœnicians carried on a lucrative trade with the Celtic inhabitants of this island 600 years before Christ, bringing pottery, brass ware, trinkets, which they exchanged for lead, tin, and hides. To this period may be assigned the tumuli containing the earlier kind of brazen instruments, which are all made upon the model of those of flint and stone previously used.

The Celts retained possession of the country until about 350 B.C., when they were partially subdued by the Belgæ, descendants of the Scythians, who about 600 B.C. entered Europe and, being a very warlike people, drove the Celtic race before them, gradually extending their conquests over the Continent till they penetrated as far as the south of England.

At the time of the first Roman invasion the Belgæ still continued to possess the south of Britain, whilst the representatives of the original colonists, the Celts, were confined to the north and west parts of the island, to which there is reason to add the midland districts, and especially the high grounds of North Staffordshire.

Exceedingly little is known of the Cornavii, and they play no appreciable part in the resistance offered to the Romans. Commios was the leader of the Gauls who offered most resistance. We find there coins of Commios and his son Tincommios. However, we know that in the year 51 A.D. Caradoc—Caractacus the British chief—was defeated by Ostorius, the Roman proprætor, and taken to Rome, where, according to Tacitus, he delivered a speech so eloquent and pathetic as to gain pardon for himself and wife and brethren from Cæsar.

Plantagus was afterwards King of the Icenii and the husband of the famous Boadicea. For some centuries after this, little is known of the Britons until Vortigern besought the aid of the Saxons against the ravages of the Picts and Scots. The battle of Chester, in 612, had placed the Northumbrian king in possession of Mercia and right up to the English March, and from that moment Britain as a country ceased to exist. The most notable event I have to mention is the union of Penda with Cadwallon, the British King of Gwynedd, and the overthrow and death of Eadwine of Northumbria in 633, and the creation of the "truce land" in this part of North Staffordshire, traces of which I hope to show you to-morrow, though much may be learnt from the coinage in our endeavours to trace the history of the Britons; and Evans considered that the inhabitants of the south must have begun to coin gold pieces from 200 to 150 B.C. We have nothing to guide us in this direction among the inhabitants of the moorland country, and are left to suppose that, even if there were any coinage it was a letterless one, and business was mainly carried on by means of barter.

Pomponius Mela, a Spanish writer of the first century, states that the further a British people was from the

Continent the less it knew of any other wealth than flocks and land, but some of them probably made use of ingots of bronze, bars of iron such as Cæsar alludes to, and also perhaps of rings or pellets of gold as a medium of exchange.

In later times we learn much from traders' tokens, in which our country was rich. I have dwelt upon the history of these early occupiers as it is of special interest in this county, for, because of the great altitude and inclemency of climate in the winter, and the natural fastnesses, almost impregnable in the then state of warfare, it remained the stronghold of the Britons, who kept themselves secure in their rude fortresses, and, unconquered or civilised by the Romans, they presented an undaunted front to the Saxons later, and these hills were the witnesses of many a fierce encounter.

It is difficult to point with a certain finger to British antiquities. Dr. Plot says "I can but refer to that noble antiquity near Wrottesley in this county, where yet remains either the foundation of some ancient British city or other fortification of great extent." And then follows the story of the great malt-house at Wrottesley made from similar great stones; and he notices further the British fortification called Wilbrighton, by the Romans *Villum Britonum*, and the fortification at Castle Old Ford and Abbot or Apeswood Castle near Seisdon and its old legend, together with the story of the martyrdom of the converts at Christianfield at Stitchbrook, all interesting to the antiquary. Dr. Plot, too, enumerates antiquities found—one arrow head, by Mr. Thomas Gent, curiously jagged at the edges with such like teeth as a sickle, and otherwise wrought upon the flat, found near Leek. An illustration is given in his history. An axe of stone found upon Wever Hills made of speckled flint, ground to an edge, and another on the Morridge Hills east of Leek. We have here a polished celt found at Ashcombe, near Leek, kindly lent by Mr. Dryden Sneyd, exactly like the one figured in Evans's *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain* from Burradon, Northumberland.

We may point with some amount of confidence to the

Druidical remains at Bridestowe, perhaps from Brit or Brith, a description of which will be given elsewhere. It is one of your most interesting objects to-morrow, though not equal in importance to those at Arbelows, just outside the borders of the county, to which, I believe, your Society has paid a visit. Besides this we have only *Barr*, now called Barr Beacon, a high hill near Sutton Coldfield, in early times a place of sacrifice or a beacon hill to warn the people of the approaching quarterly sacrifice.

"There has been so much wild speculation," says Sir Henry Maine, "about Druids and Druidical antiquities, that the whole subject seems to be considered as almost beyond the pale of serious discussion. Yet we are not at liberty to forget that the first great observer of Celtic manners describes the Celts of the Continent as before all things remarkable for the literary class which their society included."

It is thought that the Druidical religion of the Gauls had its origin and principal seat in Britain, and the chief Druid, having supreme authority, was an important personage possessing great power. There is great variance of opinion as to the true religion of the Druids, as there is about the precise form of the domestic policy of the Britons. Perhaps it was a more enlightened one than that of many years later. The Druids chose woods and forests for their seats of worship, and this district was situated in the midst of a great forest—from Cank Wood, now Cannock Chase, at that time including Sutton Coldfield, northward, embracing what is still a Crown forest, Needwood, and on to Wootton and Morridge, then called Malbanc, Forest, joining Macclesfield and Sherwood Forests, the abode and hunting-ground of Robin Hood, and in a North-Easterly direction called the Lyme, reaching Cheshire, over the district in which we are now assembled, leaving traces in the nomenclature of places such as Newcastle-under-Lyme, Burslem, in old records and charters, Burwardeslime, which word adopts as meaning an umbrageous dwelling near Lyme Woodlands. Leland, in his *Itinerary*, says still this is generally admitted to be the

Lyme Woodlands from Ashton-under-Lyme to Old Lyme, Aldelime as it is written in Domesday. In this vast stretch of forest, as the later legend of the country-side ran, "A squirrel might hop for miles from tree to tree, and a man journey in summer-time from Barden Hill to Beaumarion without seeing the sun".

Even at the close of the Roman rule the clearings along the river valleys were still mere strips of culture which threaded through a mighty waste or dense forest, the abode of the bear, the wolf, the beaver, the wild bull, the wild boar, and the badger. These latter show traces in names, notably Wildboardclough at the foot of Shutlingstow in Macclesfield Forest, and Badgersclough, Brocklehurst, Brockholes, and many others.

Britain was only conquered little by little. The last remnant held their own in the strongholds of these Midland hills, and though slightly held in check by Chester gave great trouble to the invaders. They, no doubt, continued long in the practice of their ancient religion and rites, even unto the end of the reign of Penda in 655, after its abolition in the neighbouring counties.

Not until the time of Offa, from 755 to 794, was the English frontier materially advanced towards the west, and the Kymry to disappear from Mercia. There remain to us only few proofs of settlement in the Valley of the Trent. Green, in his *Making of England*, eloquently puts it :

"At the close of the Roman occupation the basin of the Trent remained one of the wildest and least frequented parts of the island.

"The lofty and broken moorlands of the Peak, in which the Pennine range as it comes southward from the Cheviots at last juts into the heart of Britain, were fringed as they sloped to the plains by a semi-circle of woodlands, round the edge of which the river bent closely in the curve which it makes in its springs to the Humber. On the western flanks of the moors a forest, known afterwards as Needwood, filled up the whole space between the Peak and the Trent as far as our Burton.



"On their eastern flank the forest of Sherwood stretched from the outskirts of our Nottingham to a large swamp, into which the Trent widened as it reached the Humber.

"Here indeed a thin line of clay country remained open on the northern bank of the river, but elsewhere it was only on its southern bank that any space could be found for Roman settlement.

"But even on this bank such spaces were small and broken, for to the south-west the moorlands threw an outlier across the river in the bleak moorland of Cannock Chase, which stretched almost to the verge of the forest of Arden, a mighty woodland that rolled far over southern Staffordshire nearly to the Cotswolds."

In the division of the country by the Romans into upper and lower Britain, as we find York was in the latter, and the coast from the Tees to the Tyne, and Caerleon upon Usk and Chester on the Dee in the former, we may conclude that the division was guided by the parallels of latitude, the Goidelic branch being unknown in lower Britain.

The long chain of the Pennine range, the backbone and great water-shed of England, which terminates in north Staffordshire, formed a barrier against further aggression from the east, and afterwards was the site of the truce land of Mercia.

The Romans doubtless found a people, which perhaps by comparison they would consider rude, possessed of a certain amount of civilisation, which would give greater evidence in the southern parts of the island and on the coasts. But even here inland there would be a certain freedom from the grossness of savage life, the result of national training and character through many centuries. The Roman towns would in most instances be built upon the site of British towns, and the roads and fords and forest clearings would have an existence as being necessary to the exchange of commodities indispensable to living.

In the open plains there were flocks and herds, though checked considerably by the wild animals in the forests, whose skins were used for clothing.

These roads were rude, and were subject to much improvement by the Conqueror, and whose great work, but little obliterated, has been the wonder of each succeeding age.

The two principal Roman military roads are Watling Street and Ikeneld Street. The former crosses the River Tame out of Warwickshire into Staffordshire at Falkesley Bridge near Tamworth, and running westward passes into Shropshire near Brewood. Ikeneld enters Staffordshire at Stretton near Tutbury, and running south-west crosses Watling Street about a mile south of Lichfield, and passes into Warwickshire at Handsworth, near Birmingham.

But these roads do not touch this northern part of the country, and we find a road, but not direct, going northward to Deva (Chester) and on a north-easterly direction to Mancunium (Manchester), meeting at Mediolanum (Chester) with a road from Burton in a north-westerly direction now known as Rikeneld Street, or the Via Devana, and another road joining the Mancunium road at Kinderton, now Middlewich, generally called *Condote*. On the lower road the station of Bovium, situated midway near the present ruins of Beeston Castle in Cheshire. The city of Chester, called Deva, was one of the earliest and one of the strongest holds of the Roman power.

After the subjugation of the Ordovices by Agricola it became the headquarters of the 20th Legion, according to Henry, and remained for more than two centuries.

The next principal city was, perhaps, Uriconium, supposed to be Wroxeter, near Shrewsbury. The names of the garrisons and military towns are set down by name in a work probably compiled under the direction of Antoninus Pius, called *The Itinera of Antonine*, A.D. 400.

This work is not very correct in its distances, or, perhaps, from our knowledge does not seem to be. The Rev. Simeon Shaw conjectures that the circuitous routes prove that the direct routes were not made, or that they did not afford supplies or accommodation for the Legionaries on their march, or else that these Itineraries were journeys of mere military inspection.

This favours the idea of other roads in this county

having a claim to Roman origin. It is now, I think, admitted that Chesterton was the Mediolanum of the Romans, situated on Rikeneld Street, with a road branching south and west to Uriconium, midway on which is Ruturium.

There are other minor roads, one passing through the south-west corner of the county by Areley, having a camp in its centre ; and, in passing, I cannot forbear saying how much I regret that in the rearrangement of boundaries under the Act of 1894 this lovely bit was lost to the county, and beautiful Severn is no longer one of our precious inheritances.

So there appears to be quite a network of roads and military stations, rendered necessary by the number of Britons constantly ready for warfare, who had retreated to these hills, and who watched with keen eyes the movements of the Roman cohorts in the plains below.

The subjugation of the island by the Romans seems not to have been brought about only by fighting, but by milder attempts to soften the fierce disposition of the people.

As I said before, I do not think the Romans penetrated into the fastnesses to which the Britons retreated and fortified themselves, but in touch with their main roads maintained a chain of forts and kept the natives in a certain awe. But I may not be content with this enumeration without referring to the difference of opinions among antiquaries as to its correctness.

Mr. Cooper, a diligent and thoughtful student at Congleton, will not allow Condote to be on the site of Kinderton, and produces evidence and argument for Wallfield, Congleton. He certainly can quote as his authorities Camden in his *Britannia* and Dr. Plot, but relies more upon a MS. by Dr. Gower, containing an account of a visit to and exploration of the Roman encampment at Wallfield. This is quoted by Watkin in his *Roman Cheshire*. In another visit, some nineteen years later, all traces had disappeared, and this Roman camp or town seems to have been forgotten, until Mr. Earwaker, the painstaking historian of East Cheshire, brought into prominence the MS. of Dr. Gower.

The argument for Kinderton is well put forth at great length in the early volumes of *Archæologia*, and Mr. Bradley, the learned custodian of the Wm. Salt Library, Stafford, calls my attention to Vol. 62, where Mr. Thomas Percival says: "I have traced the Roman roads from Manchester with the utmost care, and find that the Condate of the Romans was Kinderton in Cheshire. The road is visible almost all the way, and the camp yet visible at Kinderton where the Dane and Weaver join. There is a Roman way from thence to Chester, another to Chesterton near Newcastle, and another by Nantwich and Whitchurch to Wroxeter."

Certain it is that there was an encampment of importance at Congleton; and we may, without drawing upon the imagination, believe that from this stronghold the Romans watched the Britons in their ruder fortification on the Cloud near the altar at Bridestones, where possibly the Arch-Druid presided.

Another difference of opinion will be found to be in the site of Etocetum of Antoninus.

Mr. Redfern, quoting Erdeswick and Camden, does not venture actually to declare for Uttoxeter in preference to Wall near Lichfield, but gives in his *History of Uttoxeter* his own interesting discoveries of remains in support of his theory.

It is interesting, certainly, to note that this Rikeneld Street, or Viâ Devana, was here called Portway and Salter's Way, the latter in consequence of it being the packway of the Romans for salt out of Cheshire. The present Slade Lane, emerging from High Street, Toot Hill, on Uttoxeter High Road, seems to have yielded Mr. Redfern many treasures, and is in a most picturesque and interesting situation. I have heard it called by the name of the King's Low. It commands a magnificent view. The name *Toot* implies that it was dedicated to the Celtic deity Teutates as an altar. Tot, Toot, or Teut is an Ethiopic word signifying Dog Star; and it is supposed by some that the Toth of Egypt, deified in the Dog Star, was transferred to the Phœnicians. Another authority gives the name as a Gothic term for the God Mercury. Mr. Redfern was a painstaking archæologist.

He pursued his studies under great difficulties such as would have discouraged most men. He died, after a sad, suffering life, last year.

The older antiquaries seem to confound Ikeneld Street with Rikeneld Street, and make them one and the same; but the latter was quite a distinct and important road. As to the etymology of the name, it is supposed to be of Saxon origin. In the glossaries *Rica* is defined as *princeps* (Olem Rex), though later the word *Kyning* was used for King; but the word *Ric* or *Rice* always retained the sense of *Kingdom*. The genitive plural of *Rica* would be *Ricena*. *Ricenael* Street would be King Street; and in Cheshire the road beyond Middlewich is called King Street, though some say Kind Street.

It is satisfactory to note, in support of this, that this road is mentioned by name in the foundation charter of Abbey Hulton as *Rykenild* Street, running through Blythe Marsh and Mere.

This *Rikeneld* was most likely one of the principal British roads; and curiously I find Whitaker says the name is British, the *R* being prefixed to distinguish it as the road of the Upper Iceni, whilst the *Ikenild* way itself led towards Norfolk, the country of the Iceni in a stricter sense.

In mentioning the antiquities of this district, one cannot help thinking of the indebtedness we owe to Mr. Thomas Bateman for the results of his Barrow opening given in his book, *Vestiges of the Antiquities of Derbyshire and Staffordshire, and Sepulchral Usages of its Inhabitants, from the most Remote Ages to the Reformation*. He was assisted by a very worthy man and patient worker, Samuel Carrington of Wetton.

I had the privilege of being present at the opening of a cairn at Caldon Low in 1871, in which many bones, flint chippings, and pieces of charcoal were found, afterwards the subject of a paper by Dr. J. Barnard Davis, F.R.S., the eminent craniologist, a member of our Society, who was also present. He described it as of the Round Barrow period or Bronze age.

Mr. Bateman's book contains an exhaustive account of the excavations of tumuli in various parts of the county

from 1759 to 1847. Although many of the barrow openings were in Derbyshire, still Wetton bears a prominent part, and yielded many remains.

The jewellery exhibited here by the kind permission of Mr. Brocklehurst, of Swythamley, was found in barrows on his farms on the Swythamley estate.

I mention the Ward Low on Wever Hill, Ribden and Caldon Low, Ecton Hill and Morridge, and many others, while two hundreds still retain the names of Offlow and Totmanslow. The remaining three hundreds of the county I would just notice here, being Pirehill, from a hill near Stone; Seisdon, from a village; of Cuddleston nothing remains but a bridge over the Pank, called Cudd Bridge.

Mr. Bateman, evidently with a love for the idea of the British origin of the tumuli, says: "It will be more in accordance with truth if we leave the first century of the Saxon invasion to the impenetrable darkness which surrounds it, instead of stripping the tumuli of Romano-Britons to ornament those of the idolatrous Saxons, whose location in the most inland county of England in the first century and a half of their occupation is extremely problematical."

I must now claim your indulgence in making a reference to what has become the most precious possession of English literature—the story of King Arthur. He was supposed to be a British prince. It is impossible to deduce his descent from any authentic source. The first to make mention of him is Taliessin, surnamed Penhaird, the head or chief of the bards.

But for the history of King Arthur, in all its detail and picturesque but wild romance, we are indebted to Nennius, a disciple of St. Elbrod, 858, and Geoffrey of Monmouth, who wrote a wonderful British history, wherein he makes Arthur rescue Britain from the Saxons. Much in Arthurian story had its germ in the myths of the Celts, and more particularly in the Brythonic Celts. Though the compilation of these stories may have had some stimulus from Brittany, yet we claim them as our own national possession, and regard the *Morte d'Arthur* of Sir Thomas Malory as one of our most valuable inheritances. It is to this and the *Mabinogion*

that some of our most beautiful poems owe their foundation ; for although in our history we find the great national story sometimes neglected or almost forgotten, yet the chief master-singers have turned a longing eye to its capabilities. And in no time so much as in our own is it appreciated, for it is specially endeared to us by Tennyson in his *Idyls of the King*, Matthew Arnold, William Morris, Swinburne, and many minor poets ; for we must ever remember that while the Germans cherish with pride their *Nibelungen Lied*, and the French their *Song of Roland*, we can hold with equal satisfaction our Arthur and the Round Table, and the literature to which it has given rise. Perhaps, if I need an excuse for so lengthy mention of a theme I have made so much my own study, I must say that we have a tradition for a site of the sixth battle against the Saxons at *Barcus*, now Basford, between Etruria and Newcastle. I pray no breath of criticism may destroy this slight link with a glorious but perhaps imaginary history.

In the study of the ancient dwellers in this district we are largely dependent upon nomenclature. The signification of a single name throws much light upon the history of nations and their migrations ; for, says Halbertsma : " It pleases not the muse of history to speak but late, and then in a very confused manner ; yet she often deceives, and before she comes to maturity she seldom distinctly tells the truth. Language never deceives, but speaks more distinctly though removed to a higher antiquity."

Emerson, always worth quoting, says : " The names are excellent ; an atmosphere of legendary melody spreads over the land, older than all epics and histories, which clothe a nation, this under shirt sits close to the body. What history, too, and what stories of primitive and savage observation it unfolds !"

There are traces of British names left in this wild moorland country, though but few, and I hope further reference may be made to them during the week.

Verstegan says : " Thus the Saxons who at first came to the aid of the Britons became, about two hundred years after, to be the possessors and sharers of the best

part of the Isle of Britain among themselves. And as their language was altogether different from that of the Britons, so left they very few cities, towns, villages, passages, rivers, woods, fields, hills or dales that they gave not new names unto, such as in their own language were intelligible, and either given by reason of the situation or nature of the place in some sort like unto it in Germany." May we be permitted to hope that at least in this district we may have a few places whose nomenclature does not bear the mark of "Made in Germany".

And now, leaving the ancient history of this county, I wish to comment briefly on a few interesting features. From Cloud Hill (from *chud*, Anglo-Saxon) near the Bridestones may be had one of the finest views in England—nine counties, the whole of Cheshire, Runcorn Gap, the Dee, the Mersey, the Wrekin, and the Welsh Mountains. It is behind this hill, on the longest day, the setting sun, viewed from Leek churchyard, gives the double sunset so famous. There is a curious article in the *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. viii, 17, and a drawing here exhibited.

Eastward we come to the Pennine range of hills, having for its last and most southerly spur the Roches, a few miles from Leek, and the most romantically picturesque part of the county. They are formed of immense blocks of millstone grit.

In a History of Staffordshire by Thomas Cox (1700) they are thus described:—"Vast rocks which surprise with admiration, called the Hen Clouds and Leek Roches. They are of so great an height and afford such stupendous prospects, that one could hardly believe they were anywhere to be found but in picture. They are so bare that they have no turf upon them, nor indeed any earth to produce it, which, whether they were so from the Creation, or were uncovered by the general flood, or washed clean by the rain, it is not possible to account for, unless we may suppose that the turf being taken off to burn (as is useful in this county) this latter should carry off the mould and leave them bare; but, as rocky as they appear, they certainly grow bigger, as have been made evident to demonstration by billets, pebble stones,



from a man's skull found in them." I think these quaint remarks are taken from Dr. Plot's history, chapter iv, rewritten.

Sir Walter Scott, in his letters lately published, notices these rocks. "We were in the neighbourhood of some very fine rock scenery, but the day was unfavourable; besides, I did not come from Scotland to see rocks, I trow."

No wonder that the native of these wild moorlands should, in spite of their inclemency, regard them with a feeling of affection. In the history of the district they claim an individuality, and mould to a certain extent the life of the inhabitants; as in Mr. Thomas Hardy's delightful romance, *The Return of the Native*, where the wild heath is really the hero and life of the story, so do these moorlands and rocks, standing in their solitude, exert an influence and call forth a feeling of reverence, as it is remembered that with them rests the secret of the history we can now feebly outline and with uncertainty surmise.

These rocks, the haunt of the falcon, the curlew, and the ring ouzel, tower over the moorland country, impervious to the attacks of time. Now the prospect is fine from the summit, but could we picture to ourselves the view that met the eye of the Ancient Briton, vast forests on every hand as far as his eye could reach, a sight that could not easily be described. The names of one of the Tors being *Cat*, seems to signify a battle, from the Celtic word.

Near these Roches to the west is the long hill ridge of great altitude called Gun, from *Gund*, a battle, though some consider from Scandinavian "town"; and here it is supposed in Saxon times a great fight took place, but for the further story we are indebted to the Rev. W. Beresford, who has made the district his own, and will, I hope, give us some account of the remains of fortifications there. It is by no means certain that traces of British occupation may not be seen.

Eastward of the Roches, and nearly equal in height, is a long extent of wild moorland country over which sweeps unchecked the terrible east wind. Here there is

a black tarn, to which tradition gives no bottom; a gruesome-looking place, from which a mermaid once rose to warn the people against letting off the water. No age so respects these old legends as our own; they are in the truest degree poetry, and fascinating above all studies.

Along the crest of the Roches to the left of the path is to be seen a rocking stone and a dolmen. Mr. Sainter, in his *Scientific Rambles round Macclesfield*, thinks that from the proximity of this dolmen to a high and steep escarpment it was no doubt intended to remain a free standing specimen, *i.e.*, uncovered by earth and stones. Its sepulchral chamber, cist or cell, which most likely contained an urn burial, is now cleared out.

We have here a casket, kindly lent by Mr. Eyre, dug up on the Roches, supposed to have contained the bones of a Briton.

Northward of this country, on the slopes of Axe Edge, from whence springs some of the great rivers, lies the little village of Flash. From this place comes, I believe, the unenviable name of Flash as applied to the reverse of genuine, for tradition gives an undesirable reputation to its early dwellers. Near this place is a dolmen, similar to the one described on the Roches. At the end of the beautiful valley is the estate of Twythamley. The hall is on the site of an old hunting-seat of the Earls of Chester.

At the west end of the Roches, stretching far southward, is the Frith Valley, signifying among the Saxons a wood—a sanctuary.

A most romantic cleft is called Ludchurch, perhaps from the legend of the Lollard worship here, Walter de Lud-auk being the principal; but probably the word may be derived from *lud* (Scandinavian), a place of retreat or refuge for the people.

Mr. Sainter further speaks of the remains of a stone circle 20 feet in diameter, classifying it with battle memorial stones, and suggesting that the possession of this gap in this part of the Roches would have always been of great importance in a strategic point of view to all contending parties.

There is a belief that a huge singularly shaped and poised block of sandstone at Kuypersley Park, called the Gawton or Gorstone, is the capstone of a large sepulchral cell or dolmen that has undergone rough usage ; and Mr. Sainter and Mr. Cooper are of this opinion, but there is considerable doubt as to this: Mr. C. Lynam and many of our members being of opinion that it is merely a riven mass of the rock rolled down and excavated from beneath.

As one of the antiquities, I must notice what is called the Staffordshire witch brooch, the subject of a paper contributed by the late Mr. Rob McAldowie, one of our valued members. "It is heart-shaped, unequal-sided, one inch wide, little more than one inch in height, made of silver, with eighteen crystals in a fancy setting ; a pin at the back. The wearing of this brooch was thought to be an infallible safeguard against all kinds of evil. They were usually bought with the wedding ring, and were supposed to keep away witches and all kinds of evil. One was found in the garden at New Place, with the name "W. Shakspeare" and "Love" engraved upon it.

In our wanderings to-morrow you will pass over a wild district called Biddulph Moor. The dwellers here have a distinctiveness less marked now than at a time in my own recollection. The story is that Herbert de Langtry, of the third crusade, brought home with him twelve Saracen captives. A friend tells me he can remember when they wore their hair long behind, cut short in front. Their cottages are scattered over the moor ; the people do not congregate. The men are black-haired and swarthy-looking, the women frequently red-haired.

When a cottage possessed a cowhouse or byre, the entrance to the living room was through this ; seldom now, though. Their dialect was quite different from North Staffordshire, possessing many gipsy words. The donkey was called t'hummar—Homâr is the Arabic for ass. It is said many of their words may be traced to this source. There is much mystery about them, little trustworthy, but what there is is curious.

Mrs. Amelia B. Edwards gives these people a prominent place in her "Lord Brackenbury", alluding to the old legend. She gives the dialect (not easily written) fairly well. The names most generally found are Bailey and Stanway, and these go very far back.

I must trespass for a few moments upon your time while I call attention to a very noble and beautiful mansion in this district, Wootton Lodge. It is near the villages of Wootton under the Wever Hills—there is an old distich :

"Wootton-under-Wever,  
Where God comes never",—

and to Ellaston, the scene of *Adam Bede*.

Sir Richard Fleetwood is said to have built Wootton Lodge from a design by Inigo Jones. The Fleetwoods were an honourable and ancient family. In 2 Edward VI John Fleetwood, Esq., was sheriff of his county, and in 12 James I Sir Richard Fleetwood, Bart., was sheriff too. Their arms, which are carved over the doorway of the mansion, are—Party per pale nebulé, *or* and *azure*, six martlets countercharged.

At the time of the civil wars of Charles I the Parliamentary forces, being under the command of Sir William Brereton and Sir John Gell of Royston, Colonel Gell being in charge of the garrison at Leek, Sir Richard Fleetwood garrisoned the Lodge; and tradition affirms that so well was it adapted for purposes of defence that the Parliamentary artillery were not able to effect a breach of the front. We are not told how it was afterwards taken, but the garrison were, I believe, marched away as prisoners. There is an entry in a curious old memoranda of accounts of the churchwardens and constables at Uttoxeter: "1643, June 1, charges to Wootton Lodge with a horseload of bread." Only just lately a cannon-ball has been removed from one of the large front stones of the Lodge. But behind the house, and perched on the edge of the rock commanding the valley looking towards Alton, is a fort or bastion of greater antiquity. This, I am sure, has a history, of which I regret to say I can tell you nothing.

About the close of the seventeenth century, Sir

Richard Fleetwood sold Wootton Lodge to Sir John Wheeler, from whom it descended to the family of Unwin, Miss Unwin marrying a Cathcart and the present possessor. It is interesting to record, on the best authority on the subject, that the remains of the park wall is that of the oldest deer-park wall in England.

Near Dovedale is Throwley Hall, and I only mention it to bring in our cognizance.

And now to my last reference : I think I have taxed your patience long enough. I should have liked to have said a few words about our Clog Almanacks, but time forbids. I wish to say a word on the Staffordshire knot.

The badge of the earlier Earls of Stafford was the White Swan, derived from the Bohuns, and this continued to be their favourite cognizance.

Edward, Duke of Buckingham, was the patron of Wynkyn de Worde, and his partner in the printing and publishing of the romance of *Chevalier Assique*, or *Knight of the Swan*, because Edward was attached to this cognizance rather than to that of the knot. Indeed, he went so far as to call himself Bohun, or "poor Edward Bohun" (Shakspeare).

Among the titles given to the Earls of Stafford in Doyle's *Official Baronage*, that of Lord Marcher of Wales, is given to Hugh, Thomas, William and Edmund, but not to Humphrey ; also later on to Henry II, as Humphrey was really Lord of Brecknock and Newport, which were in the Marches of Wales. This is curious. But while the Earls who bore the title before him did not give the knot as their badge, he did so.

Among the armorials of Welsh families once belonging to a herald painter of Shrewsbury named Bowen, now in the Wm. Salt Library, there occurs one attributed to the famous Edowain of Bradwen, whose descendants were the Lewises of Abernauthychan, the Lloyds of Peniarth, the Wynnes of Peniarth, the Lloyds of Mon-y-Mennirch, the Owens of Caer Beofhan, and the Gryffiths of Garth, etc.

Is it possible that their coat—Three snakes showed ppr. (or *vert*), two and one—suggested to Duke Humphrey the form of the knot ?

It is generally attributed to the common true-love-

knot, and in fact it is always represented as a cord, not a snake, which there is no ground for supposing it ever was. It is a cord of twisted gold thread, but it might have been suggested as to form, as above mentioned, by the snakes of Edowain of Bradwen. For the short period when Stafford was distinctly among the Duke's possessions, the town had his coat-of-arms granted for the municipality, differenced with the knot upon the chevron; and so it is given by Gwillim as the arms of the town of Stafford; the bed of black and crimson velvet, embroidered with white lions and the Staffordshire knot, which had belonged to Henry, Earl of Northampton, was not valued at one shilling as supposed, but at fifty shillings, and was therefore not specially undervalued. The knot, when resumed by the Volunteers, was adopted as a county cognizance, and has remained so ever since.

In conclusion, in remarking on the archæology of Staffordshire, the task is made more easy by the work of many laborious and gifted antiquaries, to whom the county owes a debt of gratitude:—Camden and his translators, Bishop Gibson and Gough, Sampson Erderwicke and his editors, Simon Degge and Rev. Harwood; Rev. Stebbing Shaw, in his valuable History of Staffordshire, unfortunately uncompleted; Dr. Rob. Plot, in his History of Staffordshire; our much-loved Dr. Garner, the father of Mrs. Lynam; Rev. Thomas Loxley, once vicar of Leek; Elias Ashmole; Rev. Simeon Shaw and Mr. Ward; Sir Walter Chetwynd; Mr. John Sleigh; Mr. William Salt, who left the valuable Salt Library to the county, amassed with great judgment and profuse expenditure, and which is a centre for study and research; and many others.

I thank you for your patient attention. I trust the week we are entering upon may be one of enjoyment and profit for you all, and that you will look back upon the few days spent in our county as not to be regretted. I again bid you, in the name of the North Staffordshire Field Club and Archæological Society, a hearty welcome to the moorlands of Staffordshire.



## THE FOLKLORE OF STAFFORDSHIRE.

BY MISS C. S. BURNE.

(Read at the Stoke-on-Trent Congress, 13 Aug. 1895.)



It is now nearly fifty years since the late Mr. W. J. Thoms coined the term *Folklore*, to describe those oddities of superstition and custom which from time to time have attracted the attention of the curious. A new stimulus was thus given to the study of such traditions, which then for the first time found a distinctive name. At first studied rather as a curiosity—an antiquarian fad, of which the outcome was nothing more important than the elucidation of some obscure passage of Shakspeare, or the provision of a theme for the verse-writer or the novelist—these superstitions, these customs, these legends, were soon found to have a more serious value, and to be able to tell us what nothing else can of the thoughts and habits of our prehistoric forefathers. “With only archæology to help us”, says Mr. Gomme, “the mud huts and the cave-dwellings are untenanted; the flint implements, the domestic utensils, are ownerless, the graves have no associations beyond the skeleton remains. . . . But guided by comparative folklore, we may once more restore life into this desolate region, because we can once more get at some of the thoughts and fancies which accompanied the inhabitants of the primitive village through the several stages of their daily routine.”

For these traditional beliefs, observances, legends, are “relics of an unrecorded past”: a past when the stage of civilisation attained by our forefathers differed little from that of the savages of the present day. The old woman who sticks a bullock’s heart full of pins to pierce the

heart of her neighbour, reasons in the same way as the Australian black fellow who puts broken glass into his enemy's footmarks. The savage "marriage by capture" is reflected in the tumult of the Border "riding weddings"; the familiar story of *Beauty and the Beast* may be paralleled in almost any collection of savage fairy-tales.

My task, then, to-night is to show you some few of such of these "relics of an unrecorded past" as may be discovered in the county of Stafford at the present day.

First, then, for traces of the savage temper of mind and the beliefs which it generates. Let me, as a specimen, give you the ideas of an old agricultural labourer at High Offley, on the western border of the county, as expressed by himself, July 1883, from notes taken at the time. Some neighbours of "Owd Stock'on's" had been turned out of their house by the mortgagees.

"Niver see sich a thing i' my life", he said; "their things wun all turned out i' the middle o' the road. Eh! I shouldna like to a bin them as did it. I should be afeard as they'd do summat at me."

"Why, what could they do?"

"Why, *bewitch 'em*, to be sure! Our parson, he dunna believe in folks bewitchin' annybody. He tould me so hissel', going thro' Mr. Hyatt's cowpastur'. But there was Jack Rhodes, the bank-ranger, he went to a witch in the Potteries about the mööney as he lost. *He* said, as soon as ever he saw Jack, 'You've come about that there mööney—there were so many with you—the amount was so much—you must not speak to anybody about it.' But he did, and tow'd everybody, and he never got the money back. But one night, when he was in bed with his fayther, the whole room was full of little red imps dancing all about. He said arter as the devil inna black; but it couldna ha' bin the devil, it mun 'a bin some of his imps. However can them witches do such things?"

"There was a young man (as I knowed) as wanted his moother to sell him a bit o' waste land, as her cottage stood on (close to Squire Morris's), and she wouldna'; so



he brought one o' these 'ere *men* from Wolverhampton, and he gave her a shilling, and arter that, when she was in bed at a night, somethin' had used to come to her toe and creep up her till it got to her chest. She lapped her foot up with all manner o' things, and put something with pins sticking out of it on her foot, but she never could get shut on it, and she had it to her dying day.

"Oh"—he concluded, summing up the whole subject—"when I was in sarvice they'd used to bewitch the teams, but they darna do that now."

(May I ask the representatives of the local press to be kind enough not to report this story, nor the following one, as it would not be quite kind to show up the ignorance of these poor people in any paper that might be read by their acquaintances, and cause them to be laughed at.)

So much for *belief in witchcraft*. Now for another point in the savage creed—the *transformation of the spirits of the dead into animals*. Within half a mile of "Owd Stock'on's" house is a bridge over the canal, which is always regarded as rather an uncanny place at night. A labouring man who had to cross this bridge with a horse and cart, about ten o'clock one evening in January 1879, arrived at home in an extraordinary state of fright and agitation, and related that just as he passed the bridge a *black thing with white eyes* sprang out of the hedgerow on to his horse. The terrified horse broke into a gallop; the man tried to knock off the creature with his whip, but the whip went *through* the Thing, and fell from his hand to the ground. How he got rid of the intruder or reached home at last, he hardly knew, but the whip was picked up the next day just where he said he had dropped it. The story of his strange encounter quickly spread, and this was the explanation that was offered by a local wiseacre. "It was the *Man-Monkey*, as always *does* come again on the Big Bridge, ever since the man was drowned in the 'Cut'!"

Of *local legends* I will mention one which shows traces of a *belief in elemental spirits*.

Aqualate Mere, a sheet of water on the Shropshire border of the county, nearly 200 acres in extent, is said

to be inhabited by a mermaid. On some occasion there was an idea of draining it, but the mermaid put her head out of the water and exclaimed :—

“If this mere you do let dry,  
Newport and Meretown I will destr’y”—

and the plan was abandoned.

A similar tradition attached, I believe, to the Black Mere, near Leek, where the mermaid threatened to “destroy all Leek and Leek Frith” if her abode were disturbed.

The Bridestones on Biddulph Moor, which the Association has visited to-day, is the subject of a pathetic little story. It is the burial-place, so the folk say, of the young newly-married bride of a general, who accompanied her husband to the wars, and was killed in battle near this spot. At first sight this legend seems to give little opening for comments, but I should like to point out how often such prehistoric monuments are popularly associated with marriage. The stone circle known as the Hurlers, in Cornwall, is said to be a wedding party turned to stone: and in the Orkney Islands a couple who exchanged promises while clasping hands through the hole in the Woden Stone were held to be lawfully married, though the tie might be dissolved by the simple and easy process of attending service in a Christian church, and leaving the building by different doors! I am inclined to suspect that the Bridestones *really* acquired its name from some similar ceremony now long forgotten.

I have this afternoon been told of another ancient burying-place known as the Bridestones, near Lastingham, in Cleveland, Yorkshire, but my informant knew of no legend about it.

A large portion of the county was forest-land down to a more or less recent period, and many traces of this may be detected in the folklore. Needwood Forest, a most interesting tract of country, was only disafforested in the beginning of this century, and the people are even yet not sufficiently used to enclosures to have learnt to keep the gates shut. Here we find a variety of

superstitions connected with trees and plants. For instance, it is there considered unlucky to *burn* any green thing. Two hundred years ago this belief took a more definite shape. In 1636, Charles I, "taking notice of an opinion entertained in Staffordshire that the burning of *fern* doth bring down rain", caused his chamberlain to write to the sheriff, and desire that it might be forbidden during the king's journey through the county. Others specially dread burning *elder*. "If you do, you will bring the *Old Lad* on the top of the chimney"; and an old man who *had* burnt some was always believed to have "seen something" in consequence. All these fancies point to a former *belief in woodland spirits*, capable of revenging themselves if offended.

Then there are curious reminiscences of public *forest rights*. Dr. Plot, writing in 1686, mentions a certain oak-tree, near Tirley Castle, on the Shropshire border, under whose boughs certain offences against manorial and ecclesiastical law might be committed without rendering the offender liable to punishment. And at the present day there is among the grand old oaks of Bagot's Park a peculiarly wide-spreading one known as the Beggar's Oak, beneath whose branches—so the popular belief has it—any wayfarer has the right to a night's lodging. This tradition must date from a period earlier than the enclosure of the park from the forest, and must point, like the preceding one, to some prehistoric common right, disregarded at the time of the enclosure, but still existing in the popular imagination.<sup>1</sup>

Another instance, the *Deerleap*. Wrottesley Park, granted to the Wrottesleys by Edward III in 1347, is bounded by a belt of uncultivated land, a sort of "green lane", called the *Deerleap*, a name which is also found (under a slightly different form) in a pre-Conquest list of boundaries preserved at Wrottesley. The same name,

<sup>1</sup> I can obtain no definite information as to the date of the grant of Bagot's Park, but tradition says it was given to the Bagots by King John, who also gave the ancestor of the ancient breed of goats preserved there, on the preservation of which the existence of the Bagot family and their estates is imagined to depend.

the *Deerleap*, is also given to a field adjoining an old park at Norbury, existing in the fourteenth century, but now long destroyed. For an explanation of this name we must go to the neighbouring county of Salop, where the owners of an old park, existing 1292, but now cut up into fields, claimed *the right of the buck's leap*: namely, the right to cut timber to repair the park fence for the space of *a buck's leap*—five yards—on their neighbour's land outside the park. This right, which I need not say is unknown to the statute-book, was actually exercised in 1892.

Again, we may trace *the forest-influence on annual sports and festivals*, in the Horn-dance at Abbots' Bromley. At the parish wake every year, on the Monday after the 4th September, six men carrying stags' horns on their shoulders perform a country dance. Another dancer, the Hobby-Horse, wears a wooden horse's head and caparison; a boy carries a crossbow and arrow, with which he makes a snapping noise in time to the music. A woman carrying a curious old wooden ladle for money, and a clown, make up the party. The articles used in the dance are kept in the church tower, in the custody of the vicar of the parish. I have here some photographs of the performers and of their "properties", kindly sent me by Mr. Frank Udall and Mr. Alfred Parker, of Uttoxeter. Dr. Plot, in 1686, mentions this custom, which seems then to have been in temporary abeyance, doubtless owing to the civil wars. The dance, according to his account, took place in the Christmas holidays, and the stags' horns were painted with the arms of the principal landowners.<sup>1</sup> Some traces of the paint still remain. "To the Hobby-Horse Dance", he says, "there also belonged a pot, which was kept by Turnes, by 4 or 5 of the cheif of the town, whom they call'd Reeves, who provided cakes and ale to put in this pot",—after the manner apparently of "sops in wine". It was then, I suppose, shared as a "loving-cup" among the spectators. Every well-disposed householder contributed "pence apiece" for himself and his

<sup>1</sup> Paget, Bagot, and Wells.

family ; and with the levy thus made, together with the contributions of "forraigners that came to see it", was defrayed, first, the cost of the cakes and the ale, then the expense of the repairs of the church and the support of the poor. Tradition says, that when the money collected was used for these public purposes, the dance was performed in the churchyard on Sunday after service. Now, of course, the dancers have the proceeds for themselves.

Dr. Plot distinctly says that the horns are "Raindeer" horns, and this opinion has lately been corroborated by good authority. If this be correct, there seem no limits to our conjectures upon the age and origin of the custom : and at any rate Abbots' Bromley is as likely a place as any in the county to preserve traditions of immemorial antiquity. It is situated on the borders of Needwood Forest, and is one of the estates with which Wulfric Spot, Ealdorman of Mercia, endowed his foundation of Burton Abbey in 1002. Before that date it must have formed part of the possessions of the Ealdormanship, as its neighbour King's Bromley continued to do down to the time of Edward the Confessor.<sup>1</sup> It has thus had a continuous existence, with singularly few vicissitudes, of some nine centuries at least. But without speculating on the exact age of the custom, the light in which I would present it to you to-day is, that it is a dramatic form of the morris-dance, performed in the woodland characters of stags and huntsmen. Observe that the deer are evidently *the deer of the lords* of the manor, marked with their coats-of-arms, while the dance is the common act of *the villagers as a body*. The care of the property of the dance was entrusted to their official representatives, ecclesiastical and civil ; the expense of the common cup was defrayed by common contributions at a fixed and equal rate ; the money realised was devoted to a common public object. I believe the

<sup>1</sup> Leofric, Earl of Mercia, died here. It appears in *Domesday Book* as having belonged to Harold, T. R. E., his sole possession in Staffordshire ; doubtless obtained through his marriage with Eadgifu, Eadwine's and Morkere's sister. It then passed to the Crown ; hence its distinctive name of *King's Bromley*.

primary intention of the dance to have been the assertion of some ancient common right or privilege of the village in regard to the chase. Written records might be lost or destroyed; such an "object-lesson" as this was a constant proclamation of their ancient rights to the whole village and to the "forraigners". It is just the same principle as caused little boys to be "dumped", ducked, and beaten at the parish boundaries in the annual perambulations, long before and long after parish maps had come into existence.

There are many more points which I should like to touch upon, but I will only advert to one, and that is the diversity of custom which prevails in the county. Morris-dancing, so common in the west of England, I have so far only met with in Staffordshire at Lichfield; though the well-known stained glass window at Betley Old Hall, described in Douce's *Illustrations of Shakspeare*, shows that it must once have been known farther north. The Mummers' Play, often confused with the Morris Dancers, is acted annually at Eccleshall, at Cheadle, and I think about Rugeley. The fact that the actors bear a distinctive local name, viz., the *Guisers*, evidently from the Norman-French *guisards*, or masquers, shows that it has once been a very popular form of sport among us. Let me say in passing that I think few people are aware of the exceeding antiquity of the main incident of the Mumming Play—the death in single combat of one of the characters, and his resuscitation at the hands of a wonder-working leech by means of a magic draught. The names of the principal characters vary everywhere, and St. George has in most places appropriated the part of the victorious hero, but there seems little doubt that in the leading *motif* of the little play we have a primitive nature-myth in action; and if so it is of the greatest interest to recover as many versions of the play as possible, and to note the localities where it is known.

But to return. In the north of the county we have the custom of *souling*, or begging for apples on the eve of All Souls' Day, 1st November. In the south we have the same custom practised on St. Clement's Eve,

23rd November, and called *Clementing*. In the south, Mothering or Mid-Lent Sunday is very generally observed ; in the north, so far, I have not met with it. Plough Monday is kept by dragging about a plough in some of the villages on the Trent near Burton, but not to my knowledge elsewhere. The custom of hiring farm servants from Christmas to Christmas extends from Cheshire and North Shropshire across North Staffordshire to the Derbyshire boundary, where it abruptly gives place to the Derbyshire custom of Martinmas hirings, which practically means a difference in reckoning the beginning of the year by the legal quarters or by the agricultural seasons. Now, when I was collecting the Folklore of Shropshire, I found that the line of demarcation between these and similar customs there coincided very nearly with the boundary which students of dialect had laid down between northern and southern forms of dialect, and also with certain very ancient historical boundaries. Further investigation is needed to show whether similar boundaries of custom, and so forth, exist in Staffordshire, and if so, whether they denote *ethnological differences* with us, as they undoubtedly do in Shropshire.

Three years ago, my friend Miss Keary and myself formed a project for the collection of the folklore of Staffordshire. We have accumulated a considerable amount of interesting material, but unforeseen events have prevented our making the progress we then hoped to do. It would be a most satisfactory result of this evening's proceedings if a new impetus could be given to the work of collection. The Folk-Lore Society has put forth a scheme of County Committees for the collection of local folklore. These are, in fact, very small local folklore societies affiliated to the London society, permitted to subscribe to it on the same terms as *one individual*, and having sundry advantages in the matter of publications and books of reference. This scheme is in practical working order in the county of Leicester ; but whether or not it be thought wise to adopt the formal machinery of a committee, there is no doubt that there is room for more helpers to undertake distinct

parts of the work of collection. We should want, not only more oral information of all kinds, but, for instance, to have copies made of any items of local folklore already in print—research made at the William Salt Library for points in which local folklore is intertwined with local history—traditional music noted down, photographs taken of the Whit-Monday Bower at Lichfield, the Funeral Garlands at Ilam, the many holy wells in all parts of the county, etc. The Dialect of Staffordshire is now at last receiving its due attention at the hands of two gentlemen in this district, and the present seems a fitting time to urge the claims of our local Folklore.







## NOTES ON AN ANCIENT CELTIC BELL.

BY RICHARD QUICK, CURATOR OF THE HORNIMAN  
MUSEUM, FOREST HILL, S.E.

(Read 4 December 1895.)



THE ancient bell I now have the pleasure of exhibiting to the Association is unique in more than one respect. It was found at an old farmhouse at Bosbury, five miles from Ledbury, in Herefordshire, in the year 1888, by Mr. J. Baker. It is from him that we obtained it. Mr. Baker tells me that there was a sale of the deceased farmer's effects, and the bell was turned out of doors with the lumber. No one had any idea what it was more than that it was a sort of bell, and the farmer had never dreamt of its being such a valuable relic. The son of the previous owner could not give Mr. Baker any satisfactory history of it; in fact, he said he did not know where it came from.

Bosbury is a most ancient parish, and formerly—in the 12th century—was the place of residence of the bishops of the diocese (Hereford), so the bell really might have lain there for generations.

It has been exhibited at the Society of Antiquaries, Burlington House, and at the Irish Royal Academy, Belfast, and the Scottish Society in Edinburgh; but I believe has never been described until now. The bell is formed of a single plate of iron about 22 ins. in length by 10 ins. in breadth at its extremities, and  $\frac{1}{8}$  in. in thickness.

This has been bent or folded on itself in the middle, a semicircular or rounded portion being on each opposite side of the plate, where it is folded so as to allow its edges to be turned inwards and overlap each other, and



**ANCIENT CELTIC BELL.**



thus form on plan a square-sided figure, becoming gradually wider towards its bottom or mouth. The overlapping sides of the bell have been joined together on each side by three large flatheaded nails and three small nails, well riveted inside. The handle is composed of two bars of iron  $\frac{5}{8}$  in. thick, strongly fixed to the top of the bell, and in the line of its greater plan-diameter; their extremities projecting inside, where they have been well riveted. The one side has a flat ring and pin near the outside surface. There is still a piece of the wood of the handle remaining, which, though very old, is most probably not so ancient as the bell itself.

The loop riveted through the top of the bell carries the iron clapper, which is  $9\frac{1}{2}$  ins. long and of the usual form.

The bell had most likely been dipped into melted bronze, so as to cover its whole surface, as portions of a bronze coating still remain both inside and out. The object of this was, no doubt, to protect the iron from the effects of the weather, as well as to improve the tone. The bell was, no doubt, carried and rung by the hand.

The bell measures  $10\frac{1}{2}$  ins. in height, not including the handle. It is 7 ins. in length along the top—1 in. of which is taken up by the ears or bent ends—by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ins. in breadth across. It slightly curves inward, and then widens to 6 ins. in the greater diameter of its mouth by  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ins. in breadth. The handle proper (what remains of it) is  $3\frac{1}{2}$  ins. in height from the top of the bell, and  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ins. wide (or in length) between the upright carrying bars.

The ears or bent ends in this specimen are somewhat larger than usual.

The bell now weighs 5 lb. 6 oz.

The relic, taken as a whole, is in a wonderfully perfect state of preservation, although it has now lost the greater part of its original bronze coating. It is, however, bent and turned up a little at the edge of the plate at one of its sides; and on the other side two holes have been made, either by accident or with age. When struck by the clapper, it gives out a sound not very musical on account of these holes and cracks.

From its character and shape it evidently belongs to

the earliest—the quadrangular—type, in use by the Celtic Church previous, at all events, to the Norman invasion. Most probably the relic is of the sixth century, as there are present all the characteristics of bells of that period. Dr. Anderson gives an account of all the square-formed Celtic bells known in Scotland in his excellent work, *Scotland in Early Christian Times*, in which he says “there are between fifty and sixty of these bells extant in Ireland (the home of Celtic bells); six or seven of the bells are known in Wales, but only two in England.” He was then speaking in October, 1879. So this bell must, I think, make at least the third found in England. There is one in the British Museum found in this country, and seven or eight from Ireland. There are also specimens to be found in the National Museum in Edinburgh; so that it will be seen, though comparatively common in Ireland, it is extremely rare to find them in England.

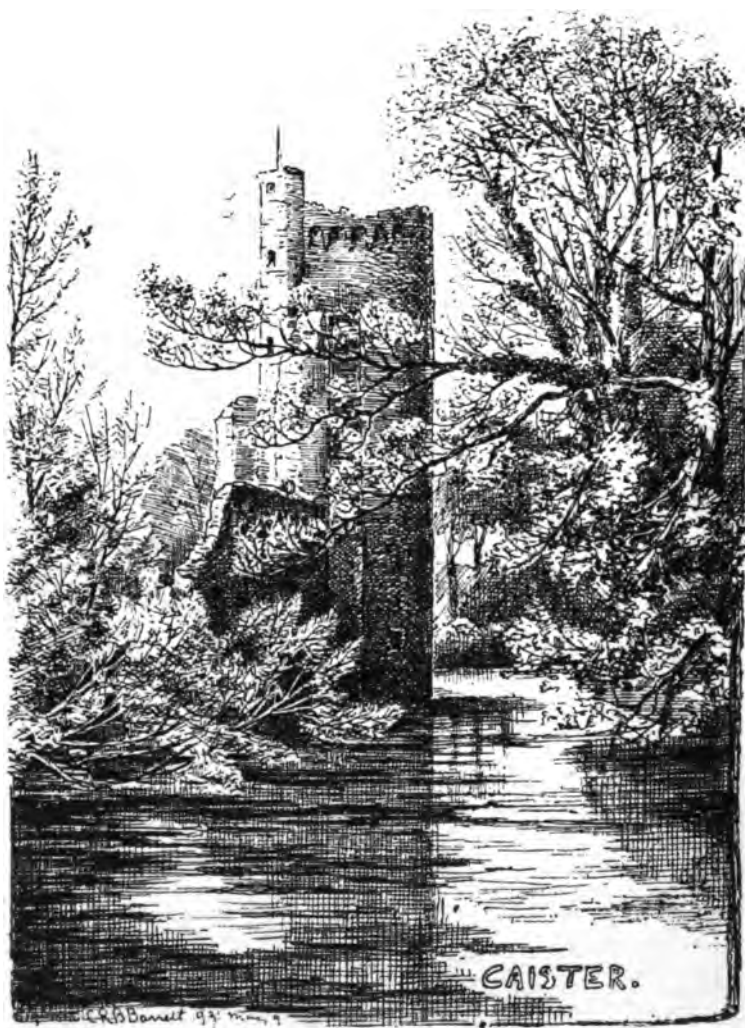
These bells were unquestionably used for sacred purposes by the Celtic missionaries to England from Ireland ages ago, and so are closely identified with Christianity in this country. It is also recorded that pilgrims in the remote ages of the Celtic churches carried these bells with them, and especially when visiting heathen lands left them behind as memorials of their Christianity. The Welsh and Irish held their bells in the highest veneration.

Finally, I may observe that these Irish and Scotch bells were sounded in the streets before the interment of a corpse, and that the same custom prevailed in England previous to the glorious Reformation.

I also exhibit an interesting example of a Singhalese cattle bell, procured by Mr. Horniman last year in the interior of Ceylon. This is of iron, riveted somewhat like our old Celtic bell.









## CAISTER CASTLE AND SIR JOHN FASTOLFE, K.G.

BY C. R. B. BARRETT, ESQ., M.A.

(Read 5 June 1895.)



CAISTER Castle, and its distinguished builder, Sir John Fastolfe, K.G., is the subject of the present paper. This castle, now alas! a sad wreck, stands on flat, low-lying ground about a mile and a quarter from the sea coast and four miles north of the busy and picturesque town of Yarmouth.

For reasons both historical and antiquarian, this grand old fragment merits attention. I may say that it is one of the oldest buildings of English brickwork to be found in the kingdom—certainly the oldest in the eastern counties.

And now to its history. In the year 1316 the lands at Caister were in the possession of a Sir Oliver Ingham. From him they passed into the hands of the Fastolfe family. That there was, however, any dwelling-place at Caister when the transfer took effect is unknown. But between that date and the reign of Henry V, a house had certainly come into existence; for we read that the celebrated Sir John Fastolfe, during the brief rule of that monarch, obtained a licence to fortify a dwelling at Caister, his birthplace. Henry V died in 1422. It was not until the reign of his successor that the present castle was commenced, and the building operations con-



tinued till 1453. From evidence which relates to the building of the castle, we must conclude that Sir John Fastolfe either changed his intention later of fortifying his birthplace, or, having fortified his home, removed the building in order to erect a grand place of arms.

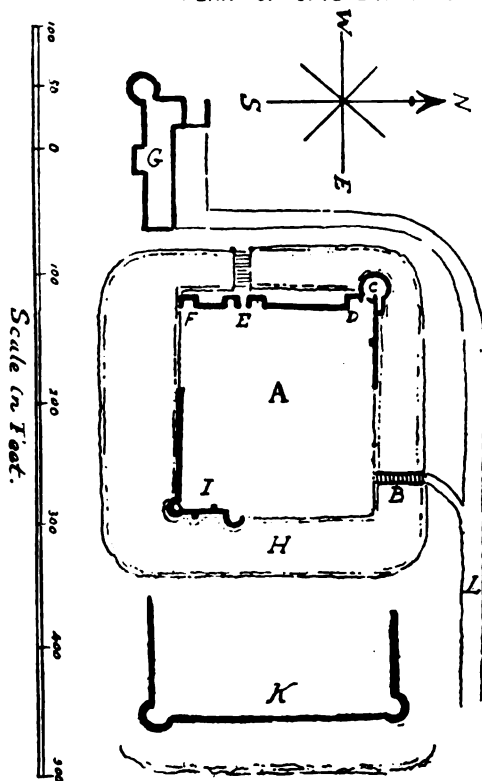
In 1443 he had obtained a licence from the Crown to keep six ships employed, and these vessels he used to

convey building materials to Caister from Yarmouth. In those days there was water-communication with the river and sea by means of a creek. By this channel the Castle moats were supplied, and in later times the worthy knight's barge used the cutting to pass by water from his Castle to the neighbouring town.

There is a tradition (entirely unsubstantiated) that the funds to erect Caister were obtained from the ransom paid by John II, Duc d'Alençon, who was taken prisoner at Verneuil in 1424, his captor being Sir John Fastolfe.

In its entirety Caister Castle occupied an area of about five acres of ground. From a map dated 1842, I find that there were then existing the inner moat complete and a portion of the outer or second moat. Of the accuracy in one particular of this plan I shall have something to say presently, and I will here merely remark that the map of 1893 shows a part (one side) of the inner mote as filled in, while the outer moat has

PLAN OF CAISTER. 1842.



been dug out and on the south-eastern side considerably altered in shape. The inner moat contained the chief gateway, the present lofty tower, the hall, and the living rooms of the castle. Within the limits of the outer moat stood the college, the free chapel, and, as I believe, the stables. Beyond the moat on the western face lay the "Barge House", under which was a wide lofty arch communicating with the creek, river, and sea. Part of this building remains, and my illustration, taken from an old print, shows its appearance prior to the erection of the modern dwelling which is now tacked on to it.

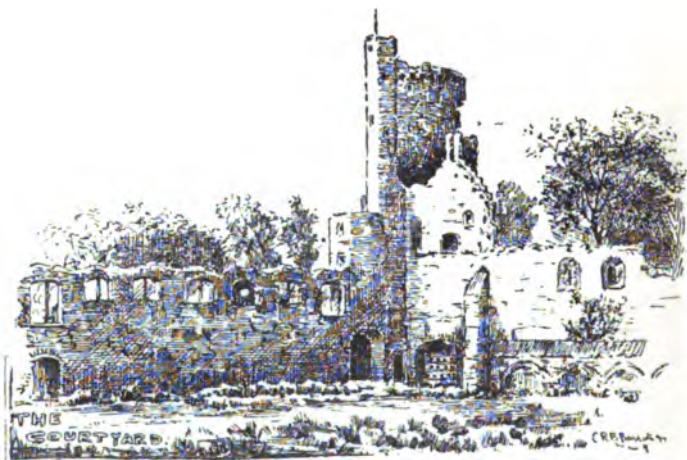


THE BARGE HOUSE.  
FROM AN OLD PRINT.

A ground plan published by Grose in 1776, *Antiquities of England and Wales*, shows us that the buildings were then fairly complete, but whether his identification of the rooms is accurate it is not, of course, possible to be assured in these days, for all have vanished. He places two drawbridges at the same spots where the present moat can now be crossed; a third one apparently connected the two courtyards. The hall occupied the greater part of the south-eastern side of the chief yard, the cellars the north-western side (observe arches in

illustration). The north-eastern buildings are unnamed, while the basement of the great tower is called the "dining-room". All mention of the chapel is lacking.

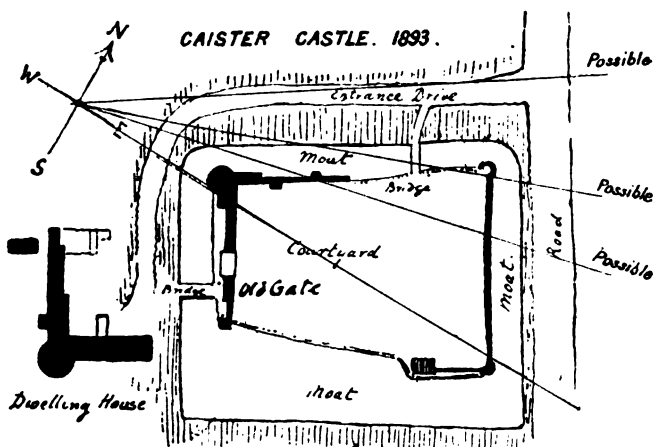
Now I must ask you to compare the orientation of the two maps and to observe the very considerable discrepancy. From Dawson Turner's book I derived the 1842 map, and he places the chapel at the point marked D—i.e., adjoining the Great Tower. His reason apparently was that at that spot there happened to be an ornamental window within a recess, but a window beneath domestic rooms. This, as it was the only decorated work in the castle, Mr. Turner determined



must be the chapel, regardless of the difficulties both of construction and orientation. He was welcome to his opinion, but I do complain of the way in which the compass was twisted on his map to support his view. The shadows cast at noon one day in May, 1893, caused doubts to arise in my mind, and I began forthwith to investigate.

Now, according to the Cambridge Orientation Chart, a chapel of St. Margaret would be orientated on one of the three lines which on my diagram are marked "possible," viz., at  $34^{\circ}$ ,  $21^{\circ}$ , and  $13^{\circ}$  approximately north of east, according as the day was July 20th, August 15th, or September 2nd. And neither of these answers the

conditions of the 1842 map, for therein the moat is absolutely north-south-east and west in its faces. As will be observed, the 1893 map differs very considerably. It cannot be imagined that in a building such as Caister Castle was, the chapel would be huddled into one corner, and built obliquely to the side of the moat—undefended, and next to the cellars. Such, however, was the position assigned to it by Mr. Turner. He drew his map to suit his view, and forgot or possibly cared little for the fact that there were three St. Margarets, if not four, and that their "lines of orientation" were not coincident. To a St. Margaret the free chapel of Caister is known to have been dedicated, and I submit



that it could never have been, would never have been, erected on Mr. Turner's proposed site—separated, too, from its college by an intervening moat and drawbridge and beneath domestic buildings.

The tower of Caister, its greatest remaining beauty, rises to a height of 90 ft. ; the turret (I could not ascend it) seems to rise some 8 ft. or 9 ft. higher. Originally the tower was divided into five stories, and the holes for the floor-joists, the openings of the windows, and ruined fire-places show this. The turret newel had 122 stone steps. These were removed by a parson, one David Collyer, shortly after 1776. Collyer was building a house at Wroxham, and, thinking that a parapet would improve

it, robbed beautiful Caister of its newel. The stones are at Wroxham, I hear, to this day. But he was not the first robber. In 1751 "an industrious antiquary," one Mr. William Arderon, unblushingly confesses to having "wrenched out of the wall of one of the windows in the tower an iron bar which had stood for some hundreds of years perpendicular"; and adds disappointedly, "but it was not in the least magnetical." No antiquary he, forsooth, but a scientific (save the mark !) Goth.

Nowadays, the tower is a complete shell. The carving of the coat-armour of Sir John Fastolfe with the Garter surrounding it has vanished. It once adorned the wall in one of the upper chambers.

A quaint carving of angels (scaled curiously and double-winged), supporting shields and bearing mottoes, which stood above a window, has been removed to Blickling Hall, where it has been converted into a mantel. The coat-armour was Fastolfe: Quarterly *or* and *azure*, on a bend *gules*, three cross-crosslets *argent*. This was the blazon of one shield, and it was surmounted by a helmet of good type. The other shield bore Fastolfe impaling Tiptoft. The motto was :—

"me faut faire."

Sir John Fastolfe married Millicent Tiptoft, or Tibetot, the daughter of Robert, third Lord Tibetot. She was the widow of Sir Stephen Scrope.

Those who care or have cared for east county families know that none of distinction ever failed to intermarry with the Tibtofts. Their coat-armour is ever present.

It is possible to ascend a short distance by clambering up the broken stair; and thence through a ruined window I obtained a sketch of the south-west wall of the castle, showing one of the flanking towers of the great gateway in profile. I could not get a sketch of this gateway from the front. Here the drawbridge has gone, but it has been replaced by a causeway which crosses the moat.

For a description of the present appearance of the ruins I must rely on my sketches, merely adding a few notes. The walls are very massive, and their machicola-

tions are fairly perfect. These last are, of course, of stone.

It is in the dark arch beneath the side tower that Mr. Dawson Turner placed his chapel. Vaulting existed in his day in this recess, but this has now vanished. The lofty crow-stepped gable on the north-western side of the tower is particularly beautiful. In the lower part of the wall are the arches, presumably the cellar-arches mentioned by Grose.

Passing now to the outer moat, there is on the north-eastern face a loopholed brick wall with two circular bastions at the corners, and on one side a short return of wall. This wall was furnished with arrow-slits, now built up.

I will now briefly mention the life of the builder. Sir John Fastolfe was born *circa* 1378. His family belonged to Norfolk; some, indeed, had been Bailiffs of Yarmouth as far back as the reign of Edward I. Of the pedigree of Sir John Fastolfe, we know that the name of his father was John, and of his grandfather Alexander. John Fastolfe, the father, inherited lands at Caister and elsewhere, but how is not known. At a house on the Caister estate Sir John Fastolfe was born. His mother was the daughter of Nicholas Park. She married, first, Sir Richard Mortimer of Attleborough, and secondly, John Fastolfe; thirdly, a man named Farwell (a Somersetshire name by the way, belonging in



later times to a village close to Taunton), a celebrated lawyer. She died in 1406, May 2nd. In his youth young Fastolfe became a page—not, however, in the household of John, Duke of Bedford, as has been stated. (Fuller.) That he was, indeed, page to Thomas Mowbray, Duke of Norfolk, prior to 1398 is possible; and that he was in the service of Thomas, Duke of Lancaster, second son of Henry IV, and afterwards Duke of Clarence, is assured. The Duke was Lord-Deputy of Ireland in 1401, and thither Fastolfe is known to have accompanied him. There, indeed, he married his wife Milicent in 1408—a bride, a widow, and richly dowered—and of her possessions Fastolfe made free use, to the detriment, indeed, of the interests of his stepson Stephen. Foreign wars now gave Fastolfe an opening, and he speedily distinguished himself: so much so, that in 1413 Henry V placed him in charge of the castle of Veires in Gascony. Two years later, Fastolfe furnished ten men-at-arms and thirty archers to serve the king in France. When Harfleur was captured, he shared with Thomas Beaufort, Duke of Exeter, the governorship of the town. More renown was gained by Fastolfe at Agincourt, at the attack on Rouen, at the relief of Harfleur, at Caen, and at the siege of Harfleur. In 1418 he was knighted. Two years later he was governor of the Bastille. Henry V died in 1422. Under the new king Fastolfe played an equally conspicuous part, both as a soldier and an official. Numerous indeed were the posts he held—Grand Master of the household of Regent Bedford, lieutenant for the king and regent in Normandy, Governor of Anjou and Maine. After his capture of Pacy and Coursay he was made knight-banneret. At Verneuil he captured, as I have said, John II, Duke of Alençon, though he never got paid the ransom stipulated on the release of his prisoner. Henceforward for five years Fastolfe was constantly employed, and did yeoman's—that is, knightly—service. In 1429, by his clever expedient of using the herring-boxes as a defence, he beat off the superior French force which attacked him while conveying provisions to the relief of

the English army then besieging Orleans. Hence the name "Battle of Herrings".

This was the culminating point in his military career. Though a Knight of the Garter—for Fastolfe had reached this distinguished position in 1426—times of trouble were in store for him. On June 18th, 1429, at Patay, in company with Talbot, he suffered defeat. Monstrelet, in an untrue account, states that Fastolfe behaved with cowardice, and narrates that he was degraded from his Knighthood of the Garter. An eye-witness of the fight, Jean de Wavrin, states quite the contrary. Anstis, in his history of the Order of the Garter, does not uphold Monstrelet; and says that Bedford could not have deprived Fastolfe, as alleged, lacking the power to do so. What Shakespere has made of the character of this brave old warrior we all know. Shakespere's caricature was intentional we can hardly doubt, despite the fact that in the original draft of the play Falstaff bore the title of Sir John Oldcastle. Oldcastle (the real one) was a Lollard; Fastolfe was suspected of sympathy with Lollards. Lord Cobham, a descendant of Oldcastle, objected to his family name being ridiculed. Shakespere therefore changed the name from Oldcastle to Falstaff (Fastolfe); for nearly all details, barring the alleged cowardice, the drunkenness, lechery, and the intimacy with Prince Hal, coincide in the cases of Falstaff and Fastolfe. Now, to show how little this charge of cowardice need be regarded, let us look at facts. The very next year, 1430, Fastolfe was appointed Lieutenant of Caen. In the next he raised the siege of Vaudemont, and the year following was nominated English Ambassador to Basle. In 1434 he assisted in the negotiations which led to the peace of Arras. Did ever a degraded K.G. do the like? For six years longer he served his country abroad, always in posts of honour. Then he retired from his military career, returned to England, and set to work to build his castle. His wealth was enormous, and Fastolfe was a man not given to letting slip any opportunity to increase that wealth. A confirmed litigant, he was never so happy as when engaged in a legal battle.



Hardly can we wonder that the lower classes loved him not. In the days of Jack Cade, Fastolfe was perforce compelled to take refuge in the Tower, leaving his house in Southwark garrisoned. But Fastolfe personally had received notice that he was specially marked out for destruction by the rebels. The remainder of his life was passed in lawsuits and castle building.

Caister was finished in 1454, and Sir John died there childless in 1456. His enormous property then formed a pretty bone of contention, but for the details I must refer you to the *Paston Letters*, in which may be read full and particular accounts of disputes which arose as to the division of the spoils—nay, even inventories of the spoils themselves. Fastolfe left three wills, all dated November 3rd, 1456, two days before his death, hence a good deal of trouble. But the possessions—ninety-four manors, four houses (viz., Caister, Southwark, Norwich and Yarmouth), £2643 10s. in cash at Bennet's Abbey, 3400 ounces of plate at Caister, and goods and chattels almost innumerable in all his dwellings—were worth fighting for. William Worcester, the Duke of Exeter, John Paston, the Duke of Norfolk, and the Duke of Suffolk laid claim to various portions of the estate, real and personal. William Worcester—i.e., William of Waynesflete—obtained a portion, which eventually passed to swell the foundation of Magdalen College, Oxford, where the seven “demies” thus provided for were in later times known as Fastolfe’s “buckram-men”.

John Paston, son of John Paston, took possession of Caister, and held it with a garrison of twenty-eight men against the Duke of Norfolk, who led thither an army of 3000 men—horse, foot, and artillery—laying siege in due form. The besieged lost one man during the brief contest, and killed two of the besiegers—a most creditable feat of arms, I take it. Having surrendered, the Pastons were tried for murder, but nothing more came of the matter. The Duke of Norfolk died, and the castle was quietly given up to Paston. Then the new owner proceeded to build up and endow the college and chapel which Fastolfe had by will appointed. This he accomplished, and in 1474, by agreement with Wayne-

flete, handed over the patronage and endowment thereof to Magdalen College, seven priests and seven poor scholars to be supported therewith.

The Paston family held Caister till 1599, when, having fallen into difficulties, a sale to a creditor, one Crowe, took place. From that day prosperity departed from the grand old castle; neglect, fire, decay, and human desecration have wrought its ruin. But we may admire—nay, must admire—the fragment left to us, and cannot but admit that in the list of Old England's worthies the founder of Caister, Sir John Fastolfe, K.G., holds a no inconsiderable place.





## NOTES ON CROXDEN ABBEY.

BY C. H. COMPTON, ESQ.

(Read at the Stoke-on-Trent Congress, Aug. 1895.)



CROXDEN Abbey, now in ruins, is situate at Croxden or Crokesden, in the county of Stafford, five miles from Uttoxeter. In A.D. 1176 Bertram de Verdun, who, says Leland in his *Collectanea*, was lord of Staunford, gave the Cistercian monks of Aulney (Alnetum), in Normandy, a piece of ground at Chotes whereon to build an abbey of that order, which was in three years removed to Crokesden, where it continued till the general suppression. It had an abbot and twelve monks, and was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, and styled *Abbatia de Valle Bæatæ Mariæ de Croxden*.

Chotes, says Bishop Tanner in his *Monasticon*, was perhaps Cotton or Cawton, a member of the Lordship of Alveton (now better known as Alton), the chief place of the residence of the Verdons in those times. It is now a chapelry in the parish of Alton, in the south division of Totmanslow, in the county of Stafford, four miles north-east of Cheadle. The living is a perpetual curacy annexed to the vicarage of Alton in the diocese of Lichfield.

Some of the old chroniclers appear to have confused this abbey with Crokestone, which, says Lambarde, in his *Topographical Dictionary*, was in King John's time a house of canons not far from Lafford Castle in Lincolnshire; the abbot whereof resorted to the same King a little before his death, and ministered to him physic both of the body and soul; to whose house he bequeathed ten pounds in land and his heart to be buried there.

This must refer to the Premonstratensian Priory of Crokestone or Croxton, in Leicestershire, a full account of which is given in the second volume of Nichols' *History of Leicestershire*; but it is also stated that King John's heart was buried in the church of St. Giles at Crokesden, an edifice nearly as old as the abbey.

Dugdale, in the *Monasticon*, says King John was a benefactor to this abbey at his death. He ordered his heart to be buried here, and gave land to the monks of Croxden to the value of ten pounds a year. The abbot appears to have been the King's physician in his last moments, and he refers to Matt. Paris, *Hist. Angliæ*, ed. 1684, for his authority; but Matthew Paris, in his account of John's death at the Castle of Newark, says he was attended by the abbot of the canons of Croxton, who was a skilled physician, and administered to the King as such, and also in his spiritual capacity. He says nothing of the King's heart being buried at Croxden, but that the abbot removed his intestines, which were buried in Croxton Abbey; and, according to his account, the ten pounds and land were given to the house of Croxton.

There are the usual discrepancies in the date of the foundation of the abbey. It is not included in the list of Cistercian Abbeys in MS. Cotton. *Faustina*, unless the entry in that MS., B. vii, fo. 36:—"Melxxxiii. xiiij Kal. Junii Abbatia Vallis Sanctæ Mariæ" refers to this abbey. In the MS. Cotton. *Vespasian* (A vi, f. 54, b.) the date 1188 is given, and in a scheme originally drawn up to illustrate the derivation of the Cistercian houses of Great Britain, existing in two copies in the Cottonian MSS. *Titus* (cx, fos. 43 and 46); and in *Vitellius* (cix, fo. 225) is the entry "Alvetum 1131. . . . Crokisden 1179".

The chronicle of Crokesden, which forms the Cottonian MS. *Faustina* B vi, harmonises some of these dates. It gives A.D. 1176 as the date of the foundation—i.e., the year of Bertram de Verdun's grant of the land at Chotes; A.D. 1178 as the year when Thomas the first abbot was elected on the Day of Pentecost; 1179 the year of removal from Chotes or Chotene to Crokesden; and 1181 as the year of the dedication of the site at Crokesden.

The original foundation charter of Bertram de Verdun is without date. By it he gave to God and the Blessed Mary and the Abbot de Vallis Sanctæ Mariæ de Crokesdene "which I have founded, and to the monks there serving God in pure and perpetual alms for the souls of my father Norman de Verdun and Lucilina my mother and Richard de Humez, who brought me up (qui me nutravit), and of my predecessors, and for my health and of Roehais my wife, and of my successors, all my land of Crokesdene with all their appurtenances to found the same abbey, except the *assarts*, which my men of Uldehures had made", etc. And he also gave the Church of Alveton with other land. This charter was (amongst others) witnessed by Robert de Verdun.

By a charter, also without date, King Henry confirmed Bertram de Verdun's charter and all its gifts.

There was an agreement without date between the abbeys of Crokesden and Dieu l'Acres, near Leek, which was in the Registry of Dieu l'Acres, by which the monks of Dieu l'Acres were not to acquire land within an English mile of Crokesden except the manor of Leek with its appurtenances.

In A.D. 1192 Bertram de Verdun, the founder, died on the day of St. Bartholomew, and was buried at Avon.

In A.D. 1199 Thomas de Verdun died in Ireland, and his brother Nicholaus succeeded to him in inheritance.

A.D. 1229 Thomas, the first abbot, "*quievit in Domino 2 nonas Decembriis*", and was buried in the chapter-house, and Lord William de Chaucombe was elected abbot.

In A.D. 1248 Lady Roysia de Verdun, foundress of the Abbey of Crokesden, died on the 4th February, and Lord John de Verdun, her son, succeeded to her.

In A.D. 1335 Lord Richard de Schepesheved, Abbot of Crokesden, built his new chamber.<sup>1</sup>

In the sixth year of Henry IV, that King granted that one of the monks might be vicar of Alveton, notwithstanding the statute of 4 Henry IV.<sup>2</sup> The statute here referred to is c. xii of that year against

<sup>1</sup> *Chron. of Crokesden.*

<sup>2</sup> *Pat.*, 6 Henry IV, p. 1, m. 9.

appropriations, whereby it was ordained that the vicar of a parish should be a secular person, not a member of any religious house, and that he should be vicar-perpetual, not removable at the caprice of the monastery; and that he should be canonically instituted and inducted, and be sufficiently endowed at the discretion of the ordinary for these three express purposes—to do Divine service, to inform the people, and to keep hospitality.

The yearly revenues of the abbey were in the twenty-sixth year of Henry VIII worth £90 8s. 11*d.* net, and £103 6s. 7*d.* gross.

Bishop Tanner<sup>1</sup> says:—"Though this was one of the lesser abbeys, and so should have been dissolved by the Act of 27 Henry VIII, yet the King was pleased to continue this house, which formally surrendered in the thirtieth year of that King's reign."

Among the MSS. belonging to Lord Wrottesley, at Wrottesley in Staffordshire, there are some remarks on Croxden Abbey and a tithe suit, in a holograph letter by Sir W. Dugdale, dated 27th September 1672, addressed to Sir Walter Wrottesley, in which he says:—"About two years since there was a suit in the Exchequer by an impropiator for tithes of land belonging to that abbey. I got the land holden excepted. Though the abbey was of the Cistercian order, yet it was one of the lesser houses dissolved in 27 Hen. VIII, and hath not by that Act any benefit of the privilege. Therefore, it was a nice point which the Lord Chief Baron—as great a lawyer as he was—knew not of."

There is another holograph letter by Sir W. Dugdale, dated 3rd October 1672, showing that Croxden is of the Cistercian order, the clause in the 27 Hen. VIII and the King's special letters patent in 29 Hen. VIII, whereby it came to have the benefit of that Act in 30 Hen. VIII upon the general dissolution of all the great monasteries.<sup>2</sup>

The benefit here referred to was that given by the statute 31 Hen. VIII, c. xiii, that all persons who should come to the possession of the lands of any abbey then dissolved should hold them free of tithes in as large and

<sup>1</sup> Tanner's *Monast.*, Stafford, vii, viii.

<sup>2</sup> *Hist. MS. Comm.*, 2nd Rep., App., p. 48.

ample a manner as the abbeys themselves formerly held them.

Thomas Chawner was the last abbot. He occurs in 26 Hen. VIII.

The site of the abbey was granted in the thirty-sixth year of King Henry VIII to Jeffrey Foljamb, of Walton, in Derbyshire. The lands afterwards came to the Parkers, and now belong to the Earl of Macclesfield.

Of the seal attached to the Surrender, being the Common Seal, there is a neat impression on red wax remaining in the Augmentation Office. The subject of it is the Blessed Virgin and her infant. She is seated under an ornamented canopy, having on her right side a shield with the arms of Bertram de Verdun, the founder: *or, fretty gu.* In an arch underneath the Virgin is an abbot standing with his crozier. Legend s . ABBATIS . ET . CONVENIUS . ECCLIE . BEATE . MARIE . DE CROKESDEN .<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dugd., *Monas.*



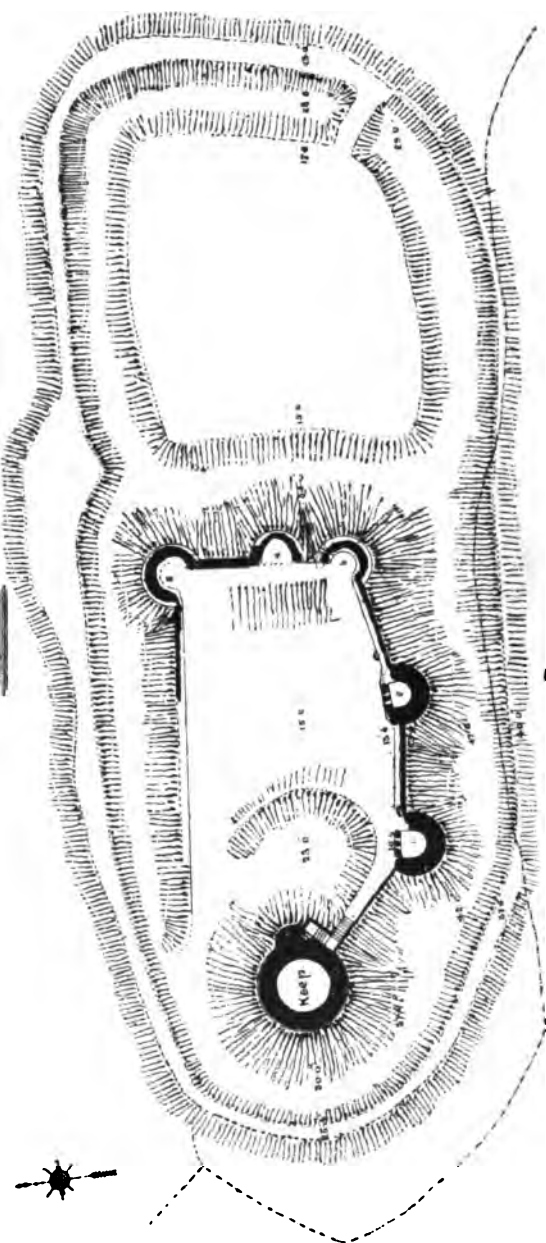




# CHARTLEY CASTLE STAFFS



SECTION



PLAN



**NOTE** — FIGURES INDICATE DEPTHS BELOW TOP OF KEEP MOULD

Scale 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 feet

Warp 18. VIII. 95.



## CHARTLEY EARTHWORKS AND CASTLE.

BY ALEX. SCRIVENER, ESQ.

(Read 16th Aug. 1895.)



BEFORE the Conquest, Chartley, so far as I have been able to discover, is historically unknown, yet I venture to think that in its earthworks we have one of the many defensive works which studded Mercia in pre-Norman times; and as little has been written hitherto upon it, I have thought it worth the trouble of bringing before the notice of the Congress.

I have prepared a plan from actual survey, aided by the Ordnance Survey, and also a section from actual levels, which shows the earthworks from west to east. The plan shows a mound, 60 ft. diameter, to the west of the earthworks, having a ditch from 80 to 100 ft. wide, the bottom of which is 30 ft. below the present top of the mound on the west side, 42 ft. on the south, and 23 ft. on the east side; and this ditch doubtless originally surrounded it. The mound is unmistakably artificially raised, and the natural escarpment of the hill has been quickened.

To the east is a plateau of somewhat horse-shoe form, 15 ft. below the top of mound, and about 50 yards from west to east, and 47 yards wide, surrounded by a ditch in some parts 60 to 80 ft. wide, being in the bottom 20 to 30 ft. below the plateau.

To the east of this is a second plateau, level with the first, of irregular circular form, about 67 yards from west to east, and 62 yards wide, which is also surrounded with a ditch of less width and depth than the others, being on the east side 10 ft. deep below plateau, and about

50 ft. wide. The ditch has in all cases a raised rampart on its outer edge. On the north face the ditch is not so formidable as on the south, the former side being less vulnerable owing to the swampy nature of the ground beyond.

An entrance to the second court is now by a ridge to the south-east, where the ditch is filled in. Was this the original entrance?

Situated as this earthwork is, about three miles north of the great road, as Pennant says, and about midway between Stafford and Uttoxeter, 7 miles from each and 13 from Tuthury, it seems strange that no mention is to be found of its existence, except by inference, before the Conquest; yet it must, from its later history, have been an important post, and have made its influence felt in the troublous century or two before the Norman conquest.

Does its earlier name, Certeleg, Certelc, Certelege, etc., help to prove its early importance—Latin *Cert-us*, sure, safe? Several other derivations have been suggested, but none seem to be so feasible.

Coming to the history of the place, we find that Erdeswick says, "not long after the Conquest Chartley was given to Hugh E. of Chester" (the Rev. R. W. Eyton, in *Staffordshire Collections*, William Salt Archæological Society, says he should have said "after *Domesday Survey*), "which Earl retained it so that it descended to the sisters of the last Ranulph, E. of Chester; and in partition it was allotted to Agnes, who had married William Ferrers, Earl of Derby."

The Rev. R. Eyton says, "Earl Hugh's seignury over Chartley, and its continuance with his heirs, I can neither prove nor disprove; but it is certain that De Ferrers became tenant of E. of Chester, in Staffordshire, long before this marriage. It is a problem if Chartley was thus held. The second Robert, E. Ferrers, dying 1161, assigned as the portion of his infant daughter, Matilda, a certain estate or estates held of Honour of Chester. I think Chartley was so held." At any rate, Chartley did become allied to the Ferrers family, and this great family is mentioned on the first page of the first volume of the *William Salt Collections*, where, in Pipe Roll

1131, Robert de Ferrers is recorded as paying King's dues; and although not much noticed, he was Baron of Chartley and Tutbury. He was made first E. of Derby in 1138, after having led the forces of Derbyshire at the battle of "The Standard" at Northallerton.

So it would seem that the earlier earthworks were taken advantage of as the site of a castle of stone, when such mode of defence superseded the earlier form, and we find that in 1191-2 the repairs of the castle devolved on the Crown.

But the castle, of which the ruins are now rapidly disappearing, was doubtless built, as recorded by most writers, in the first quarter of the thirteenth century, by Ranulph, E. of Chester. Looking at the plan, we see he built his castle on the western portion of the earthworks only, placing his keep on the artificial mound; and naturally, although several times repaired, and in later times almost rebuilt, it has fallen almost into utter ruin; but a small portion of the original plinth was visible some ten years ago, and now this has disappeared, I fear.

A curtain-wall was built, running south-east from the keep to the tower, at south-west angle of castle, marked 1; but this wall being on the artificial slopes of the mound has disappeared, and a modern one, with steps on the inner side leading up to the keep, takes its place.

Five towers were built on the south and east faces. The westernmost one, before mentioned, marked No. 1, is 42 ft. outside diameter, being round, as seen from outside, but having a flat face to the court. All the towers were similar, at least, the two which form the chief objects of the ruin were so, and no doubt the rest were. The walls are about 12 ft. thick, and pierced with archery-slits skilfully arranged. On the right hand side of the archers' opening on the east face, there is an incised cross in the masonry well wrought. Is it the work of a pious hand just returned from the Holy Land with the Lord of the castle?

A curtain-wall, running east, connects this tower with No. 2 tower; and in this wall are remains of a passage, as though communicating with each tower; and a small

arch is visible on the outside, low down, probably a refuse arch only. The present surface, near this wall, is 10 ft. above the top of slope outside; but this passage is considerably below the inner ground-level. No. 2 tower is 39 ft. diameter outside, and traces of a newel-staircase and of a flight of steps leading into the basement, but stopping short some feet from the bottom, were to be seen ten years back, but further ruin has almost destroyed them.

In the back flat wall of this and No. 1 tower are the sills and part of the jambs of window-openings with characteristic splays of Early English character, which have been prepared for casements, not glass. A curtain-wall running from this tower connects it with No. 3, the south-east tower; and in the wall near No. 2 tower, and well covered by an archery-slit, are two openings having pointed arches, communicating by a passage from the courtyard to the outer south ditch. A flat pilaster-like buttress marks this side as having been of importance rather than the others.

The outer and inner ashlar face to the No. 3 tower has gone, but it seems to have been about 38 ft. diameter. Northwards of this, and within 7 or 8 ft. of it, stood another tower (No. 4), of which but little remains; but it was probably about 35 ft. diameter, and between these two towers was the principal gateway. Remains of a curtain-wall running north and connecting this with the 5th or north-east tower are traceable, and this angle tower was about 42 ft. diameter as its *vis-à-vis* in the south-west angle. But little remains of this tower above the courtyard, and but few traces of the wall running from this tower along the north side of the castle are visible, and how the defences were arranged at the north-west angle near the keep is not traceable; but, as before stated, this north side was naturally less needful of artificial defence.

These are the remains left to us of the once-famous Earl of Chester's Castle of Chartley, a ruin now as in Erdeswick's time, when he stated, "The last Ralf E. of Chester builded the castle, the ruins whereof yet remain;" and Leland says, "the olde Castell is now in

ruine, but old yerle Randol, as sum say, lay in it when he builded Dewl'encres Abbey." Pennant (1782) says, "at a small distance on a knowl are the poor remains of the castle, consisting of fragments of two rounders and a bit of wall almost hid in wood. This fortress was very soon permitted to fall into decay. It was built by Randle Blunderville, E. of Chester, in 1220, on his return from the Holy Land, and he raised a tax on all his estates to build this and Beeston."

The history of the castle is interwoven with the history of the Crown and people, for many centuries its occupiers and owners taking most active part in the stirring events which went to build up the nation.

There are several peculiarities about the ownership of this castle, and, as we have said, in 1131 and 1161 it was held by the Ferrers', and in 1191-2 its repairs devolved on the Crown; and in 1184 a Beauchamp, married to one Isolda Ferrers, dying a tenant *in capite* of the Crown, the wardship of his infant son devolved on the Crown: hence the castle, it is supposed, was *in manu regis* at this time.

William de Ferrers, of Tutbury, and his brother-in-law, Ranulph, E. of Chester, are mentioned as constant brothers-in-arms during the reigns of Richard and John, and were witnesses to the latter's will at his death at Newark in 1216; and they journeyed together and fought in the Holy Land after securing Henry III's seat on the throne. This William de Ferrers became possessed of Chartley, as we have seen, through his wife Agnes. His son William died 1254, and Shaw says that *his brother* Thomas had the castle by gift of his mother; and although there is no mention by other writers of this, yet a confirmation is found later perhaps.

In 1256, Margaret de Ferrars, Countess of Derby, was sued by a person that he might have every year the wood blown down in the park.

Robert de Ferrars, the last E. of Derby, played a conspicuous part in the Barons' War, joining Simon de Montford. His castle of Tutbury was destroyed, and he taken prisoner, but being pardoned, again raised an army, and was defeated at Chesterfield, 1266. His estates were

confiscated to the King, and he deprived of his titles and imprisoned. He was liberated, and restitution of his vast estates offered on payment of a fine of £50,000. Failing to find this, it seems all his estates were conferred on Prince Edmund except Chartley. He afterwards sued the Prince for recovery of his lands, under the plea that his promise to pay was made under fear of his life. The court non-suited him, and in 1274 he sued the King to be allowed to redeem the manor of Chartley as heir of one *Thomas de Ferrers*, before mentioned, who died childless (this is the confirmation I have just spoken of); but Roger le Strange stated that the King had given the manor to his brother Hamon when Robert rebelled, and that Robert had seized the castle by night and held it until dispossessed by the King's liegemen, and the King had taken it into his own hands. The suit was decided in favour of Robert, "saving to the King the castle and the movables in it."

Robert died the same year, and during this reign his son being under age and in ward to the King, his widow was often before the court as to her right to a market and gallows in Chartley. The King bestowed Chartley on John, and he was created Baron Ferrers of Chartley.

This Hamon le Strange above mentioned was Sheriff of Staffordshire, and in *Staffordshire Collections* it is mentioned that in 1271 he took a buck from Teddesley without warrant and carried it to Chartley; and again in 1275, he and his sub-sheriff took some cattle from the Abbot of Hulton at Mixene (? Hixon) and drove them to Chartley, retaining six for the use of the castle. (I fear persons in high office were no better then than now.) There is some confusion in these dates; it would seem that Robert's widow was in possession of the castle at this time.

In 1450 a daughter of the Ferrers family came into the estates at eleven years of age, being then the wife of Walter D'evereux, and he took the title of Lord Ferrers of Chartley.

Another Walter, in 1551, was made first Viscount Hereford—he died 1558, and his monument is in the

church of Stowe, helying between his two wives. Another successor was created E. of Essex, and another heiress of the family married, in 1615, a Sir H. Shirley, of Stanton Harold, where is now the seat of the family of the E. Ferrers, Viscount Hereford and E. of Essex.

The Manor House, close to the castle, at the foot of the hill, was built by a Walter Devereux about 1475, and was a place of note; Mary Queen of Scots was also lodged in it for a time when removed from Tutbury.

Curfew was rung in Stowe, hard by, up to within a few years, and stocks remained at the cross-roads near the church, but were stolen by the men constructing the railway near, about thirty years ago—it is thought for fear of being placed in them.







## THE ISLE OF PURBECK AND ITS MARBLE.

BY REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE.

(Read 4 Dec. 1895.)



THE Purbeck district, lying on the south-west coast of Dorsetshire, is commonly known as the "Isle of Purbeck", and in the Sheriffs' Returns in the Pipe Roll is variously called Purbeck Forest or Chase, or, as Lambarde in his *Dictionary* (p. 286) terms it, Purbeck Warren,—a term which Robinson, in his graphic description of the locality, adopts, calling it "a Royal Warren". This, too, corresponds with the Saxon derivation of its name, *Pur-buch* (pronounced *bikh*), a "cattle-run"; though another derivation is found for it, as "Pure-beck" or rivulet, from the purling brook which runs down through it into the Bay.<sup>1</sup>

Its ordinary title is not strictly true, for it is not quite an *island*, being connected with the rest of the county by a narrow strip of land on the west, about half a mile wide, between Flamborough Knoll and Lulworth Bay. In olden time it was evidently a very favourite hunting-ground for royalty, abounding in red and fallow deer; and to preserve it the more closely, King John extended over it his very severe forest laws, under which even the height of the stone walls was regulated, so that they should never be raised "higher than a hinde and her fawn could jump". To go back to a still earlier period in English history, it is very probable that this was the scene of the last day's hunting of him whom we call "Edward the Martyr"; for it was at the gate of Corfe

<sup>1</sup> Hutchins' *Dorsetshire*, vol. i, p. 462, third edition.

Castle, close by, that the young King fell a victim to the treachery of his cruel, jealous step-mother, Elfrida.

The district generally is full of objects of interest and beauty. Pre-eminent among them stands Corfe Castle itself, now a majestic ruin. Here are also gems of Norman architecture in the churches of Studland and Worth, and, older still, the little Chapel of St. Aldhelm; while on all sides are romantic glades and charming peeps of hill-side and sea-coast scenery. These, however, all belong to the range of chalk hill which encircles the so-called "Isle of Purbeck", beginning at Lulworth on the west, and running round to Hardfast Point on the east; only broken by the dip at the village of Corfe, where, on a separate hill, rises the historic Castle.

Within this belt of chalk, and lying parallel with its western limb, stretches a lower ridge of limestone which, starting from Corfe passes Swanage, and disappears at Durlston Head and Peveril Peak, the perilous rocks of which, running out into the sea, are themselves marble. It is with this ridge that we are specially concerned, though its interest lies rather with the geologist than with the archæologist; yet it is in this relation that we would treat of it here. Little of the picturesque beauty which pervades the heights and valleys of its chalky neighbours is to be seen in this ridge. Scarcely a tree of any size relieves the hill-side; not a hedge is to be seen, but miles of dreary stone wall; roughly-piled blocks of stone, and more roughly coped with blocks set edgewise, run up and down the slopes; and every dwelling, from the substantial farmhouse, once the manor-house of some gentle "cit", or even noble courtier, of the days of "good Queen Bess", down to the lowliest cottage or hovel by the roadside, is built of the stone dug out from the neighbouring quarries: the better sort constructed of squared, chiselled blocks; the rest of unshaped fragments piled up, and roughly plastered,—all alike roofed over with heavy tile-stones of *shale*. The whole hill-side, too, is dotted with the produce of deep quarries now at work, or strewn with *débris* (locally known as "ridding" or "scar-heaps") of old abandoned ones. So accustomed does the eye become to the presence of this all-pervading

grey stone, that when in the town some enterprising builder breaks away from the prehistoric custom of the district, and runs up a red brick house, or substitutes a tiled or slated roof, the effect seems to mar the harmonious uniformity of the whole scene; indeed, one might almost adopt, with the alteration of a single word, the language of Coleridge's *Ancient Mariner* as he drifted among the ice-floes,—

“The *stone* was here, the *stone* was there,  
The *stone* was all around.”

It is this stone which forms so important an industry, and constitutes the wealth of the district. There are several varieties. There is the shallow flat slab of limestone, called “roach”, which, like the *Lias* further inland, is so largely used for pavements of streets and of houses; another sort of harder quality is very serviceable for firebricks, while the more common and more generally known under the name of “Purbeck stone”, lies at much greater depth and in much thicker layers, and is worked in long tunnelled galleries. This is an article of wide-spread commerce, and while, like Caen or Bath stone, comparatively soft and workable when first dug out, becomes very hard by exposure to the air. It is very largely used for building purposes, and is transported in shiploads, formerly from Owre, and now from the Swanage pier, to all parts of the country. In the neighbourhood of Swanage itself is a vein of still harder character, very full of minute marine shells, and capable of receiving a high polish. This is much used in the more ornamental parts of buildings.

But besides and above all these varieties of stone, the Isle of Purbeck obtains its celebrity from a very early date for its beautiful MARBLE. This lies on different parts of this limestone ridge, only a few feet below the surface, and is especially dear to the architect and archæologist.

The writer spent a long morning last September in a quarry which had been recently opened, and had the opportunity of examining the formation with some care, and of bringing away some specimens of the three layers

which it contained, for the scientific details of which he is indebted to some geological friends. None of these strata are above 12 in. in depth, and are all composed of freshwater shells, embedded in a compact limestone conglomerate. The upper stratum is of a slate-like, bluish-grey colour, the middle one of slightly paler tone, both filled with minute particles of shells, chiefly univalves; while the lower stratum is a greenish-grey, more closely compact, with occasional sections of bivalves. Here we meet with specimens of *Unio*, *Lymnæa*, *Cypris*, *Paludina*, *Planorbis*; and some apparently so rare as to be distinguished by the name of the locality, as *Cypris Purbeckensis*, etc. All three admit of a very high polish, presenting a surface of rare beauty.

This is the material to which the archæologist and the architect turn with special delight as they detect it in our Cathedrals and Churches, rising up in graceful shafts to relieve with its darker, brighter colouring the more subdued and sombre-toned piers, window-jambs, and doorways. The thinness of the strata, already alluded to, will account for the manner in which it ordinarily appears: not in segments or blocks, like the stone by its side, but raised up, *end-on* (so to say) in one unbroken length; which also accounts for its too frequent decay, either outside a building, when exposed to the weather, or inside, when suffering from the vitreous emanations from the heating apparatus. While in its natural state it lay in its bed horizontally, it is now placed vertically; and thus, rain or gas acting on its surface against the grain, it is always liable to scale off and perish, unless periodically and carefully wiped down, or rubbed over, as is the case in the Temple Church.

When this marble was first used for building purposes it may be difficult to say. It has been hinted that it may be found in some Roman work, but this is doubtful. The earliest date which can with any authority be assigned to it for use in ecclesiastical buildings would probably be the very beginning of the thirteenth century, and from then it was clearly very popular for decorative purposes for the next two centuries and a half. During that period it was in very general request

in all parts of England. We naturally expect to find it first in some of the neighbouring cathedrals; and here it appears.<sup>1</sup> A very destructive fire had nearly robbed Chichester of its old Norman cathedral in 1187, and when Bishop Seffrid II began the work of restoration, he applied to the Crown (for Purbeck was then a royal manor) for permission to obtain some of its treasured marble. A grant was made in 1204,<sup>2</sup> which shows the high repute in which this material was held. The bailiffs of the seaports of Dorset were not only ordered to allow whatever might be required for Chichester Cathedral to "pass free and without hindrance", but they were to "take security even from the men sent by the Bishop that they would convey it to Chichester *and no where else.*" And two years after, a second order was issued<sup>3</sup> for a further supply. That it reached its destination may be seen in the triple arcade of the clerestory, with its Purbeck marble shafts, and also in other parts of the cathedral.

At Winchester Bishop Godfrey de Lucy was about the same time engaged in adding to that noble Norman pile his Early English retro-choir, embellishing it with the same choice material. Then, further to the west, Bishop Poore, of Salisbury, was planning the removal of his Episcopal Chair from Old Sarum to the present far more picturesque site on the banks of the Wiltshire Avon; and, as its graceful fabric rose, there rose in it those fragile-looking and unique groups of marble pillars which form the charm of the Lady Chapel.

Passing on to Wells, with its more massive towers and its unrivalled western screen, every part of the interior of the Cathedral shows how highly Bishop Josceline, whose name is so inseparably connected with it, delighted to bring the treasures of Purbeck for its adornment. Still further west, too, at Exeter, with its only

<sup>1</sup> For much of the information contained in these pages, the writer desires to acknowledge the valuable help of the late and the present Deans of Winchester, Canon Church of Wells, Dr. Brushfield of Budleigh Salterton, Devon, and other obliging friends.

<sup>2</sup> Patent Roll, 6 John, m. 2.

<sup>3</sup> P. R., 8 John, m. 4.

less richly sculptured façade, we find so early as the year 1233 the Chapter entering into a contract with "William Canon, a Mason of Corfe,"<sup>1</sup> to supply a large quantity of Purbeck marble for the nave of the cathedral; there were to be twelve columns and several half-columns, with bases and capitals, at a cost of £1,309 10s.: a goodly sum in those days. Here the marble appears in a somewhat unusual form, being placed not only in long shafts *end-on*, but also in *drums* or segments, when required to bear its share of the weight.

Before this thirteenth century had half run its course, the fame of this marble had clearly travelled far afield. The "Early English" nave of the Temple Church bears witness in its shafts and knightly monuments to a recognition of its value; as also does its contemporary building of Lambeth Palace Chapel, which the Savoyard Primate Boniface, under compulsion from the Pope, was restoring, as an expiatory offering after his brutal attack on the monks of St. Bartholomew the Great in Smithfield.

Royalty, too, was ready to bear testimony to its worth, for, about the same time (or ten years later), Henry III, while careful to strengthen the Tower of London, had sent for five shiploads of this marble<sup>2</sup> to beautify his chapel there, for the Tower was his occasional residence as well as his fortress. And a few years later (1258 and 1268), a further and still larger supply was shipped for the use of Westminster Abbey.

Here, too, are the Purbeck marble columns and shafts which are most familiar to the eye of the London sight-seer, relieving pier after pier in every part of the stately building. These were brought here in 1350 by Edward III, when he was setting his seal to the pious work of the Confessor. For this purpose no less than 144 yards of marble were at one time brought "from Corf to the King's bridge at Westminster."<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Oliver's *Lives of the Bishops of Exeter*, p. 179, and App. IV, p. 379.

<sup>2</sup> Pipe Roll, 34, 42, and 52 Henry III.

<sup>3</sup> J. T. Smith's *Antiquities of Westminster*, p. 203.

Meanwhile Canterbury<sup>1</sup> and Rochester<sup>2</sup> had become alive to its beauty, the one under "English William as its Architect," and the other under Bishops Gilbert de Granville and Henry de Sandford. But before the thirteenth century was over, the fame and value of this decorative marble had reached Norwich and even Ely, and had a place in their cathedrals.

It must not be supposed, however, that the southern and eastern counties, though naturally the first, were alone in adopting the use of this striking marble for the enrichment of their buildings, though there are instances in which a somewhat doubtful claim is put forth by local *cicerones*. For example, take that magnificent Minster at York. There the visitor is shown what are declared to be Purbeck marble columns and shafts in the clerestory of the nave and in the stalls of the Chapter-house; yet a reference to the "Fabric Rolls" will show that in each case the decorative marble came, not from Purbeck, but from the rival quarries at Petworth, in the same county.<sup>3</sup>

In the Midlands, however, though they had marbles of their own of high repute, are to be found many specimens of Purbeck. Perhaps the most notable, and best known, is to be seen in the princely Beauchamp Chapel attached to the parish church at Warwick. Here not only the body of the monument of the great Earl Richard, who died in 1439, and whose tomb is said to have been erected about 1450, but the very pavement of the chapel, is composed of it. The agreement between the executors of the Earl and "John Bourde, marbler of Corfe," to supply the necessary materials has been preserved by Dugdale.<sup>4</sup> One other monument, as being probably the latest of those in which this marble was

<sup>1</sup> Under the head of "Expensa" of the Monastery of St. Augustine, there is an entry, under the year 1265, "Pro lxvj columpnis marmoreis soluti monachis Sancti Augustini lxij sol. x den.", and those in the Cathedral were probably a few years earlier.

<sup>2</sup> In Rochester the shafts of the presbytery and in the choir (proper), the whole, bases and shafts, are pronounced to be of Purbeck, clearly belonging to the earlier half of the thirteenth century.

<sup>3</sup> See Brown's *History of the Metropolitan Church of York*, pp. 71, 92, 98, and 103.

<sup>4</sup> Appendix to the *History of Warwickshire*.

used (until its late revival) may be noticed : it stands in the parish church of East Budleigh, Devon, and is to the memory of Joan Raleigh, the first wife of Walter, the father of the illustrious Sir Walter Raleigh. The date of this monument is said to be between 1530 and 1540. This would seem to bring to a close the period during which Purbeck marble had been used, and for the last 300 years only very rarely even for monuments. How it came that this beautiful marble fell into such utter disuse for so many years seems strange, and has been accounted for by two distinct and different theories : one being that the quarries had become exhausted, or, more probably, had been carried so far into the hillsides as to make the further working so expensive as to be prohibitory ; the other being that marbles from Devonshire or Derbyshire, and the introduction, too, of foreign marbles, softer and less difficult to work, had driven the Purbeck marble "out of the market". Indeed, so completely does it seem to have passed into desuetude, that Mr. Farrer, a Purbeck man, in a paper<sup>1</sup> read before the "Purbeck Society", in the year 1859, said that the marble for which that district had been so famed, and of which it had been so proud, "belonged to a past age".<sup>2</sup> He says it was a region "better known as the former parent of Purbeck marble than by any distinction of the present day."

Yet he must have been unconscious that the silence of the marbler's pickaxe and hammer had been broken at Woodyside so recently as 1840, when a quarry was opened there to supply material for repairing and replacing the shafts in the Temple Church, which six centuries of exposure to London smoke and fog had so sadly dimmed and caused to scale off. Since then, too, another quarry has been opened for the marble which has been lavishly introduced into the new church at Kingston in 1862 by the Earl of Devon, under the supervision of the eminent architect, George Street.

<sup>1</sup> British Museum, No. 1229.

<sup>2</sup> This refers exclusively to the marble ; the stone quarries have been and still are in full working order, and continue to supply material to all parts of the country.



It may well raise a smile that any man should have been so sceptical as to its existence as a marble at all, and have insinuated that, after all, it was a mere composition of paste and various materials moulded into shape and highly polished, till it became as hard as marble and smooth as glass.<sup>1</sup>

And now, within the last three years, the bed already alluded to in these pages has been discovered and reopened in the parish of Langton Maltravers,<sup>2</sup> to vindicate the claim of the Isle of Purbeck to its marble.

Any account of this district would be incomplete without some allusion to the men who work the quarries, for they constitute a little Guild or society among themselves, and are a self-governing, close corporation. They claim a very ancient charter of rights and privileges, of which they are very proud and tenacious. The original charter, which was said to date from the times of the early Edwards, has, indeed, been lost (burnt, it is believed, in a great fire at Corfe Castle), but a reputed copy of it is said to be extant, and they produce "Articles of Agreement" based on it, bearing date the year 1551. They form a regularly constituted Society, under the title of "The Corporation of Royal Marblers." Their executive consists of two Wardens and two Vice-Wardens or Stewards. By virtue of their charter they monopolise the right of working any quarry; and to such an extent is this realised that, when, a few years ago, an independent landowner proposed to open a quarry on his own land, the Marblers rose in a body and threatened to resort to force in vindication of their supposed right; and so resolute was their attitude that he thought it wiser to abandon his claim. Like many such antique Corporations,—and, indeed, more so than many of them,—the Society is strictly hereditary: only the legitimate son of a "Royal Marbler", or the son of a married daughter, is admissible into the Guild. Their boys are formally appren-

<sup>1</sup> See *Archæologia*, vol. iv, p. 104.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. T. A. Brown, stonemason in that parish, to whom the writer is indebted for much of the information here given, writes to him, "Only a few days ago I sent away the finest truck of marble I had ever seen, one block weighing 3 tons."

ticed to freemen, and according to a singular custom (rigidly observed to the present day), when their time is up they present themselves on Shrove Tuesday at Corfe Castle "with a penny loaf in one hand, and a pot of beer in the other", and thus, then and there, take out their freedom. So close is their community that no outsider can work in any quarry without express permission.

Another singular feature of their Guild must also be noticed. Not only have they names for their various beds of freestone, known only among themselves, but the very terms in use among them for their several tools are quite different from those ordinarily heard in Dorsetshire. For instance, with them the handle of a hammer is called an "elf"; scotching of wheels, "trigs"; eyes for fastening chains to, "drails"; and other such terms.<sup>1</sup> From this peculiarity it has been thought by some that probably the original workers of these quarries were foreigners who had settled here, and had adopted this mode to keep themselves distinct from their neighbours, and to maintain their exclusive position.

Is it past all hope that, as the deep freestone beds have for so many centuries maintained their high repute, the opening out of this new marble quarry, from which large quantities are being carried off week by week for use in the noble work the Duke of Norfolk is engaged upon at Arundel, may be the means of enabling the architects of the close of the nineteenth century to emulate the skill and taste of their ancestors in the craft of the thirteenth, in imparting to the many goodly Churches and Cathedrals now rising up throughout the country some of the bright, warm tones of its far-famed Purbeck marble?

<sup>1</sup> Halliwell (*Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words*) certainly gives "Trigen" as a "skidpan for a wheel", and "Drail" as "a toothed iron projecting from the beam of a plough", but no word resembling "Elf" as a handle of a hammer. Nor are "Trig" and "Drail" commonly current in the county.



# British Archaeological Association.

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## FIFTY-SECOND ANNUAL CONGRESS, STOKE-ON-TRENT, 1895.

MONDAY, AUGUST 12TH, TO SATURDAY, AUGUST 17TH.

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HIS GRACE THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND, K.G.

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## Proceedings of the Congress.

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MONDAY, 12 AUGUST.

The members were received in the Council Chamber by the Mayor (Mr. J. Birks), Aldermen W. Kirkham and H. N. Marks, Councillors G. Bennett, W. F. Holtom, N. Emery, Hargreaves, Leese, E. W. Sale, Edwards, Massey, and Riseley, and Mr. J. B. Ashwell, Town Clerk.

The Mayor said it gave him great pleasure to acknowledge the honour which the British Archæological Association had done to Stoke by making it the place of their annual meeting. He, on behalf of the inhabitants, the Corporation, and himself, extended to them a hearty welcome, and hoped they would have a pleasant time in the district. If the weather should prove at all favourable, judging from the programme, they would return to their homes at the end of the week with pleasurable feelings, and, he trusted, not without profit and satisfaction.

Mr. W. S. Brough, on behalf of the members of the North Staffordshire Naturalists' Field Club and Archæological Society, offered a few words of welcome to the visitors.

Mr. Thomas Blashill thanked the Mayor and Corporation for the hearty welcome they had extended to the members of the association.

A visit was then made to Stoke Parish Church, under the guidance of Mr. C. Lynam and Mr. W. D. Spanton. The monument to Josiah Wedgwood, on the north wall, was removed from the old church to the present edifice. Wedgwood was buried in the churchyard outside the church at the north-west corner. Mr. Lynam pointed out a carved stone of Stoke old church. It has been used as a lintel to a doorway. It was broken at the time it was found, and pieced together as they now saw it. It was thought better not to put anything more to it, but that it should remain intact and tell its own story. He then described the recovery of the stones forming the three arches from the river Trent. First of all they were roughly placed together. Then the Rector expressed a wish that they should be put up in their old

place. Search was made, plans of the old church were found, and the result was the whole outline was discovered. Under the porch was Josiah Wedgwood's tomb.

The stones taken from the river had not been shaped or tooled in any way, but had been placed together in the same form they took in the original church. There were drawings of the old church, which helped to illustrate where the lines were, and this made the work easy. There were views from the south-east and from the south-west, so that it was easy to make out the outline of the church. On the glebe property, a shaft of the ancient font was deposited, and it was brought to the churchyard, so that there was the original font of thirteenth-century work.

From Stoke churchyard the visitors drove to Bury Bank, near Stone, undoubtedly occupied in Saxon times. It was an irregular ellipse about 140 yards in length and 100 yards in width, and had an area of about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  acres, encircled by a vallum from 30 to 40 ft. in width and from 3 to 4 ft. in height. Outside this was a flat space forming the top line of the great fosse, which, again, was bounded by another wall running along the slope of the hill. The entrance to the enclosure was at the north-west, and was by a narrow roadway between two raised flanking mounds.

The party then drove through Trentham Park to the Hall, having accepted the kind invitation of the Duke of Sutherland to take refreshments there on their way back to Stoke.

In the evening a *conversazione* took place in the Town Hall, by invitation of the members of the North Staffordshire Naturalists' Field Club and Archæological Society. The visitors were received by the President of the society (Mr. Wells Bladen).

Mr. W. S. Brough read a paper entitled "Notes on North Staffordshire," which has been printed above at p. 1.

Mr. T. Blashill, in proposing a vote of thanks to Mr. Brough, said he had given them a very interesting summary of the early Roman history of the district, and he had done it in a manner which would, he was sure, commend itself to their admiration.

Mr. J. Challinor seconded the motion, which was heartily carried.

A large number of interesting views were then thrown upon a screen by the aid of a lime-light lantern. The views were explained in detail by Mr. A. Scrivener, who stated that the photographs were taken by Mr. Thomas Taylor.

On the motion of Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., seconded by Mr. Wells Bladen, Mr. Scrivener was cordially thanked for his services, and the company soon afterwards separated.

## TUESDAY, 13 AUGUST.

Soon after 9 a.m., the members set out for Abbey Hulton, where the foundations of the ancient Cistercian abbey, unearthed some ten years ago by instructions of the owner, the late Rev. Walter Sneyd, were inspected.

Mr. C. Lynam explained the result of the investigations, which will form the subject of a separate paper hereafter.

The thanks of the company were tendered to Mr. Lynam, and, the inspection being completed, the drive was continued to Milton Station, where the party took train to Leek. Here they were met by Mr. W. S. Brough, who conducted them to the parish church of St. Edward. The chief features of the building were commented upon by Mr. Lynam.

After luncheon at the Swan Hotel, the drive was continued to the site of Dieu-la-Cresse Abbey. They were conducted by the Rev. W. Beresford, vicar of St. Luke's, Leek, who read a paper on "A Bit of Lost History," which will find a future place in the *Journal*.

The drive was then resumed to Rushton Church, or, the "Chapel in the Wilderness," the Rev. S. Thomas, vicar, conducting the company. The unique, primitive character of the interior forcibly struck the visitors, who expressed themselves much impressed with the ancient edifice.

In the evening a meeting was held in the Council Chamber of the Town Hall, Mr. A. M. M'Aldowie being in the chair. Miss C. S. Burne read a paper on "Staffordshire Folk-Lore," which has been printed above at pp. 24-33.

A second paper was on "The Conversion of the West and Midlands of Great Britain," by the Rev. W. S. Lach-Szyrma, D.D., which will be printed hereafter.

Mr. W. De Gray Birch, F.S.A., Hon. Sec., read a paper entitled "Historical Notes on the Town and Priory of Stone," by Mrs. Collier. Stone, the writer stated, was an ancient market town, situated in the western division of Staffordshire, in the hundred of Pirehill, and in a valley watered by the Trent. It was built on the northern bank of that river, seven miles north-west of Stafford. It had its rise in Saxon times, and was supposed to have derived its name from a heap of stones, or, according to another tradition, to a stone monument erected by Queen Ermenilda over the remains of her two sons. There are fewer British remains in Staffordshire than in any of the other neighbouring counties, but some Roman remains have been found



near Stone, and the brass head of a Roman *venabulum*, or hunting-spear, at Yarlet, from whence one might gather that the Romans had at one time or other some residence here, with leisure to follow such sports as the country round about afforded them. In Saxon times Staffordshire was included in the kingdom of Mercia. The son of king Penda, Wulphere, governed the kingdom from A.D. 657 to 676. He became a Christian, and married Ermenilda, daughter of the Christian king Erconbert, of Kent. There was reason to believe that Wulphere had a residence in the vicinity of Stone, and, according to traditions, it was built at the top of Bury Bank, a short distance from Darlaston, and now included in the domain of Trentham. When Plot wrote, there were on the summit of the hill the ruins of a castle, fortified with a double vallum and entrenchments about 250 yards in diameter ; the gate at the west, where the side banks on either hand were visible. The keep was of Saxon structure, built of limestone from the rock. On the south side was a round conical hill, like a tumulus, cast up higher than all the rest of the work, and probably the place of sepulture of Wulphere. At present no traces of Wulphercheater are to be seen.

The names of three of the children of Wulphere and Ermenilda had come down ; one Wereburga, or Werburgh, became Abbess of Trentham and Hanbury. She was buried at the latter place, but in A.D. 875, upon the invasion of this district by the Danes, the religious fled to Chester, and carried the bones of their saint with them. The sons were called Wulfade and Rufin, and became martyrs. Wulfade, one day hunting in a forest near Lichfield, and in pursuit of a stag of unusual size and beauty, came upon the cell of a holy hermit named Ceadda, or Chad. The latter first instructed Wulfade and then his brother Rufin, in the Christian faith, and baptised them. But his hermitage being too remote from Wulphercheater, the seat of their father, they entreated the holy man to remove nearer to them for their more convenient attendance on him, to receive further instructions and to be able to perform their devotions together with him. To this request of the young princes he readily complied, and took up his abode in a forest between Trentham and Burston. Hither, under the pretence of hunting and other diversions in the field, they often repaired to him, and became well-grounded Christians. They were very cautious in their movements, so that their father, who had lapsed into paganism, and had become a persecutor of the Faith, should not come to know of their conversion. At length, however, they were betrayed by one of their father's evil counsellors, and Wulphere, seeking out the Saint's oratory, surprised his sons at their devotions, and in his

rage and fury, slew Wulfade on the spot. Rufin fled, but was overtaken at Burwestone, now Burston, and likewise killed by the hand of his father. St. Chad escaped the fury of the pagan king, and returned to his cell at Stowe, near Lichfield. The deed done, Wulphere began to reflect upon his barbarity, and, being tormented in mind, could find no ease till he repaired to St. Chad, to whom he acknowledged his sin. He was enjoined by St. Chad to suppress idolatry throughout the kingdom of Mercia and to establish the Christian religion. Being thus converted a second time, he became devout and zealous, and gave proof of his sincerity by building churches and monasteries. The bodies of the two princes were brought by Queen Ermenilda to Stone. Here a priory was raised in their memory which, with the stately abbey of Peterborough, likewise the work of Wulphere, remained to future ages the monument of his crime and his repentance. In the western cloister of the latter abbey might be seen painted on the windows the legend of the martyrs of Stone. Queen Ermenilda is also said to have built a small nunnery at Stone, and at Burston she erected a chapel on the spot where Rufin was slain. When Erdeswick wrote his survey of Staffordshire (1593) it was still standing. Not many years ago an oak door, with iron clamps and curious lock, was shown at Burston as having belonged to the chapel; it has since disappeared. The blood of the little martyrs became, as it were, the seed of the Church, for from that hour the Faith took root in Mercia, and a few years afterwards Chad himself became its bishop, and completed the conversion of the country. The memory of the local martyrs has been revived in Stone in the Roman Catholic Church of St. Dominic, where an altar is consecrated to their honour. The two panels of the reredos represent Wulfade and Rufin being baptised by St. Chad and slain by Wulphere.

During the Danish invasion, the inmates of the religious houses fled and dispersed, but, upon the retreat of the Danes, they seem to have returned, or the monasteries were refounded, for there could be no doubt that a religious house existed at Stone at the time of the Conquest, though much decayed. After the Conquest, Enysan de Walton, who came to England with the Normans and took his name from the little village of Walton, close to Stone, found only a few nuns and a priest, who celebrated service in honour of the martyrs. He slew them, and took possession of their demesnes and left them to his son. The latter having forfeited them to the king, they were given to Robert de Stafford. He, out of great veneration for St. Wulfade, founded in the same place a priory of Augustinian canons, restoring to them the endowments of the nunnery and increasing their revenues

with other lands. The priory became henceforth the place of interment of the Staffords. At its dissolution the bodies of all the lords of Stafford were removed to the Augustinian priory at Stafford, in the hope that the house, not being endowed, but supported by the charity of good people, would be spared, and so the bodies have rested there undisturbed. It was not so : the rich shrines and other valuables of the lords of Stafford brought destruction to the Priory ; the fair and costly tombs were pulled down and buried in a heap of ruins. At the time of the dissolution the Abbey of Stone was valued at £119 14s. 11d. The property was granted to one Harper, but soon passed by purchase to the Colliers of Darlaston and the Cromptons, Wm. Crompton being a merchant of London. St. Wulfade's Church was a fine specimen of ecclesiastical architecture, but it was allowed to fall into decay. The tower gave way first, and for some time one of the bells, swung on a large tree, summoned the parishioners to the services. Finally, on the night of the 30th of December 1749, it fell down, after which an Act of Parliament was obtained for building the present church. It did not retain the ancient dedication, but was called St. Michael's. It was erected at some little distance from the site of the old church, the position of which might be traced by the tombs of Sir Thos. Crompton and his wife now in the churchyard, but which stood formerly in the chancel of St. Wulfade's. When constructing the road at the south end of the town in 1773, several subterranean passages were discovered by the workmen, connecting the various buildings of the priory. At that time a considerable portion of the walls was demolished. A very small remnant remains, the foundation of a wall and the base-ment of a pillar, and in the priory house a bit of cloister is still to be seen. The memory of the site will, however, be perpetuated by the names of Abbey Court and Abbey Lane given to the adjacent places.

The following notes have reference to the civil war of the seventeenth century :—

March 19, 1642. William Brereton (Parliamentary army), in giving an account of the battle of Hopton Heath, mentions that on March 19, the Sabbath day, he marched from Newcastle to Stone, and so on to Sandon, and joined Sir John Gill's forces near Salt Heath. "January 5th, 1643. It is ordered that the weekly pay of Stone, Darleston, Tittensor, Aston, Walton, Burston, Barlestone, Swynnerton, Stanndon, Copenhal, and Levedale shall likewise be assigned to Captain Leicester Barbour, for payment of his officers and souldiers." Staffordshire was the scene of many marches and countermarches of the Royalist forces. A certain Capt. Symonds, an officer of the King's army, amused himself in his marches by keeping a diary, the following

being extracts concerning Stone:—"Thursday, May 22, 1645. We marched from Draycott to Stone, in the county of Stafford. His Majestie lay at Mr. Crompton's house. A sweet place, in a fine park. He a rebel." "Friday, May 23rd. The army rested." "Saturday, May 24th. We marched to Uttoxeter." The "sweet place" owned by the rebel, Mr. Crompton, was Stone Park, now a farmhouse, from which Lord Granville, lord of the manor, takes his title. Lord Granville Leveson-Gower, youngest son of the first Marquis of Stafford, was created Viscount Granville of Stone Park, county of Stafford, and Baron Leveson, of Stone, July 15, 1815, and advanced to the earldom in 1833.

At the outbreak of the rebellion of 1745 a powerful army was soon organised, which, under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, marched to Stone, where they remained for some days, to the great inconvenience and confusion of the inhabitants. They encamped upon spacious rising ground to the north of the town, called Stone-fields, in hourly expectation of an engagement, thinking the enemy would come from Leek, but having had false intelligence of their route, no engagement took place. The general confusion which was spread over this part of the country, and in the town of Stone in particular, at this crisis, would seem incredible to those who had not heard the details. In fact, there was no real cause for such alarm. The enemy, Scotch mountaineers who were quite undisciplined, and had never before taken arms, were soon scattered and retreated to Scotland. The Common Plot, a piece of ground that was reserved at the time the commons were enclosed, to secure pasture for a certain number of industrious people who kept a cow, was occupied by the Duke of Cumberland's troops. The earthworks thrown up to protect the camp are still to be seen.

At the close of the eighteenth century Stone enjoyed a considerable prosperity and increase of trade, owing to the construction of the Newcastle and Liverpool canal, which flows past the town, and to its being situated on the great coach road to the north. Thirty-five coaches passed daily through Stone, and this explains the great number of public-houses which it possesses. With the railroads the coaches disappeared, and the traffic on the canal greatly diminished.

Mr. Wells Bladen moved a vote of thanks to Mrs. Collier for her paper, and remarked that the deep drainage scheme was being carried out in Stone, and it was quite possible, as a branch was being carried through Abbey Court, that remains of the old buildings might be discovered.

Mr. Lynam seconded the motion, which was carried, and the company then separated.

## WEDNESDAY, 14 AUGUST.

On Wednesday the members, under the leadership of Mr. A. Scrivener, journeyed to Lichfield and Tamworth. The cathedral was described by the Dean (Dr. Luckock), who met the party at the north transept, and perambulated the whole edifice with them.

After luncheon, partaken of at the Swan Hotel, the party went to Tamworth. Here the parish church of St. Editha, with its Norman work and numerous tombs, was described by the Vicar.

Mr. Thos. Blashill made some general remarks upon the church. He dwelt particularly upon the fine but much mutilated monuments, and with respect to the Ferrers' tomb, said it was a particularly good piece of Gothic work for the late date of 1572. In the choir they stood, he said, under what had probably been the central tower of a Norman church, and there would be similar arches once crossing the church, as well as the fine Norman arches they saw. It was probably an aisleless church. In subsequently walking round the church, a moulding in the western corner of the south aisle and another upon the doorway were adduced as pieces of evidence relied upon to prove the fact that the Norman church extended to the west end of the present building, and the signs here favour Mr. Blashill's idea that it was an aisleless church.

Mr. Scrivener thought the bases of the pillars of the nave were of a later character than the pillars themselves.

The party then walked to Tamworth Castle, and Mr. Blashill gave a history of the castle and its foundation.

In the evening the members assembled by invitation of the Mayor and Mayoress of Stoke (Mr. and Miss Birks) at a conversazione in the Assembly-room of the Town Hall. Members of the Corporation and a few friends were included in the invitations, amongst those present being the Mayor of Newcastle (Mr. C. H. Hardeman) and the Mayor of Hanley (Mr. E. J. Hammersley).

Mr. A. Scrivener continued his illustrated description of objects of interest within the county. It is hoped that this lecture, with reproduction of some of the views, may take the form of a separate paper hereafter in the *Journal*.

## THURSDAY, 15 AUGUST.

The members this day paid a visit to Newcastle, where, by the courtesy of the Mayor and Corporation, the ancient charters and regalia were inspected with much interest, the members being received

by the Mayor (Mr. C. H. Hardeman), the Town Clerk (Mr. J. Griffiths), and the Borough Accountant (Mr. R. Fenton).

Mr. W. de Gray Birch described the MSS., and made suggestions for their safe preservation.

On the motion of Mr. H. C. Compton, seconded by Mr. G. Patrick, a vote of thanks was cordially passed to the Mayor and Corporation for their courtesy.

In acknowledging the compliment, the Mayor said the suggestions which had been made with regard to the preservation of the ancient charters and maces would be borne in mind by the Corporation.

The members then proceeded to the Roman Camp at Chesterton, where Rev. T. W. Daltry read a paper which will be printed hereafter. An ancient crucible, which had been recently found here, was exhibited by the owner.

The members then visited Heleigh Castle, where a paper was read, to be printed further on in the *Journal*.

The journey was then continued to Market Drayton, where luncheon was partaken of at the Corbet Arms Hotel. Afterwards the members proceeded to Hawkstone Park, where Mr. Daltry read a paper upon the history of the Red Castle, prepared by Mr. W. Phillips, of Shrewsbury. With regard to the ruins themselves, it was explained that there were so few remains that one could form but an imperfect notion of the original character of the castle. In outline it was an irregular oblong, 500 ft. from north to south, and 300 ft. from east to west. The principal object of interest in the ruins was a lofty circular tower or keep, cut for about 40 ft. in the solid rock, and continued upwards in masonry of different periods to a height of over 100 ft. from its base. Immediately under the tower is a circular well, 10 ft. in diameter and 105 ft. deep, known as the Giant's Well. The defensive works can be traced along the top of several of the rocks that bound the enclosure.

The Rev. T. W. Daltry presided at the evening meeting, when Miss Edith Bradley read a paper on "The Story of St. Chad."

Mr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., read a portion of his paper on "The Newly-recovered Charters of Burton-on-Trent Abbey," which it is hoped may be printed hereafter.

Mr. Thos. Blashill read a paper on "The Ancient Arrangement for the Tillage of the Common Fields," a subject which he dealt with in detail.

The Rev. W. Beresford afterwards submitted a paper, entitled "A Bit of Lost History." The substance of the paper was an account of the life of a typical Moorlander, William of Cheddleton, whose turbu-

lent actions were coupled with a wonderful amount of bravery and cunning. Under Edward II he was one of the most lawless of characters, appearing, however, always to have taken the side of his weaker neighbours against the stronger; but under Edward III he seems to have reformed, and to have acted heartily in concert with the King, by whom he was trusted to choose archers and horsemen for the wars in Scotland and France.

### FRIDAY, 16 AUGUST.

The members, under the leadership of Mr. Wells-Bladen, this day visited Chartley Castle. The company assembling on the mound of the keep, Mr. A. Scrivener, of Hanley, read a valuable paper on the history of the place, which will be printed hereafter.

On the motion of Mr. Blashill, seconded by Mr. Patrick, a vote of thanks was accorded to Mr. Scrivener.

The company then drove back to Uttoxeter, and, having partaken of luncheon at the White Hart Hotel, proceeded to Alton, Alton Towers, and an ancient British camp. The ruins of the old fortress of the De Verduns on the precipitous cliff opposite the railway station were also visited. Leaving Alton, the party were taken to the ruins of Croxden Abbey, which was described by Mr. Lynam.

Before the company left, the members were hospitably entertained by Mr. and Mrs. T. Wood, of the Abbey Farm, who very kindly provided tea and refreshments.

Another drive brought the party to Checkley, where they were met by Archdeacon Lane, the Rev. E. Phillips, (vicar), General Wrottesley, and Mr. J. W. Phillips, who kindly offered tea in the schoolroom, after which the party inspected the pre-Norman crosses in the churchyard.

The vicar expressed the opinion that these crosses originally marked a preaching-station prior to the erection of the church.

The company then drove through Tean to Totmonslow, where they took train to Stoke, arriving soon after seven o'clock.

At the evening meeting, Mr. Charles Lynam presided. Mr. C. H. Compton read notes on Croxden Abbey, which have been printed above, at pp. 48-52.

Mr. Birch referred to the sad neglect of the abbey, observing that many of the stones would not be standing a very much longer period. He suggested that efforts should be made to put it in order under careful supervision, so as to preserve what remained.

Mr. Wells-Bladen moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Compton for his interesting paper, and to Mr. Birch for his warning as to the effort

which ought to be made to prevent the further decay of the remains of the abbey, which should also be applied to Chartley Castle and other ruins.

Dr. Phené seconded the motion.

Mr. Lynam said it did not do to assume that the abbeys were built at the time they were founded, as the monks were not always able to erect the buildings as soon as they commenced their labours. With respect to Croxden Abbey, it was private property, but still there was no reason to suppose that steps could not be taken for securing the remains from further decay.

The resolution was adopted.

Dr. Phené next read a paper, which was entitled "Some hitherto little noticed Earthworks in Central Britain," which it is hoped will be printed hereafter.

#### SATURDAY, 17 AUGUST.

On Saturday the members visited the Wedgwood Institute and other places of interest.

The Congress being ended, about a dozen members had the pleasure of seeing the remainder off by the London train in the afternoon. On Sunday morning they visited the parish church, and again met some of the members of the Local Committee, who afterwards invited them to partake of tea.

The good offices of the Local Committee were again shown by two members calling early on Monday morning with invitation to inspect the works of the Spode and Copeland China Warehouse, where the whole system of manufacture was shown in detail. The members were struck with the workrooms, where girls from the age of ten and upwards were employed, some modelling, others colouring by hand the china that was ready ; and the general demeanour and tidiness everywhere shown, and the skill with which the brushes and pencils were handled, seemed to the visitors to lay the foundation of a School of Art which they hoped Kensington or local influence could perpetuate, and so bring out in future years the native-born talent of many of the juveniles employed. The tidiness and elegance of the young girls were also noticed, both in their hairdressing and clothing. The Messrs. Jones Brothers also devoted some time to showing the members over their warehouses, which involved vast stocks of general china and crockery ware. To the several firms the thanks of those present were given ; and when at parting the landlord of the North Stafford Hotel kindly offered his best wishes, the members were constrained to say that they had never received greater attention and courtesy at any



Congress to equal that of Stoke-upon-Trent in 1895. To the Lakes, to Norfolk, and to Scotland the members drifted away, heartily pleased with their visit.

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An exhibition of antiquities was arranged on Monday in the Assembly-room of the Town Hall, Stoke. To this exhibition Mr. Ralph Sneyd, of Keele Hall, was an important contributor. It will be remembered by many of those who have taken an interest in archaeological matters, that in the summer of 1884 it was made known, through the medium of the North Staffordshire Naturalists' Field Club and Archaeological Society, that in a field lying between the public road and a farmhouse at Abbey Hulton, excavations had been made for draining purposes, by which discovery was made of the foundation walls and pillars of the old abbey, some being of finished workmanship in red sandstone and others formed of rubble. Fragments of carved stone were unearthed in large quantities. Many pieces of floor-tiles, highly glazed, exhibiting great variety of patterns, most of them of thirteenth-century date, were also found, as well as some pieces of pottery supposed to be of Roman workmanship. A large portion of these relics were removed to Keele Hall, by direction of the late Rev. W. Sneyd, and some of them were lent by the present owner of Keele Hall and Abbey Hulton estate, who also showed a leather barrel, which was dug up in a field on the farm at Abbey Hulton. An interesting discovery was made at the time referred to in the form of a coffin, from which some hair was taken, supposed to be from the head of Elizabeth Lady Audley.

Mr. W. D. Spanton also showed a case containing a portion of the hair, and likewise exhibited some specimens of tiles and ornamental stones taken from the same place. In the successful carrying out of these excavations, and the removal of the remains of the old abbey to Keele, Mr. C. Lynam contributed his valuable advice. Besides the Hulton Abbey relics, Mr. Spanton lent two well-preserved missals—one dated 1501; and an "Ovid" of 1566; both splendid specimens of sixteenth-century work.

Mr. W. S. Brough lent a large and valuable collection of interesting objects. The pictures included etchings of the old masters—Schongauer, Dürer, Botticelli, Van Dyke, Rembrandt, and others—very rare prints; also a number of sketches in pen and ink of interesting places in the north of the county by Mr. Brough himself. The books included a magnificent copy of the *Nuremberg Chronicle*, Shaw's *Staffordshire*, Plot's *Staffordshire*, the first edition of Erdeswicke's

*Staffordshire*, Ward's *Stoke-upon-Trent*, a rare edition of the *Morte d'Arthure*, printed in London in 1634, Camden's *Britannia*, and a number of local histories, with scrap albums of local antiquities. He also showed fragments of stained glass from Croxden, a panel from the Abbey of Dieu-la-Cresse, a brace of silver inlaid pistols presented by the Archduke of Austria to Mr. Sneyd, a knife of Prince Charles, a tobacco-stopper given by Charles II to John Davenport, of Ball Haye, Caroline silver buckles, a sack-bottle bearing the date 1646, dug up in a field at Leek Frith; a very ancient MS., on vellum, of abbey possessions; and oriental prayer-rolls. Mr. Brough also showed one of Sheridan's election-tickets, containing in print the following words:—"The Right Hon. R. B. Sheridan presents bearer with five shillings and sixpence in ale. E. S."

Mr. P. L. Brocklehurst, Swythamley, showed a lease of the Grange and Park of Swythamley, granted by the last abbot of Dieu-la-Cresse in 1530, with the seal almost perfect, and a charter granted prior to the time of Edward the First; a rare edition of Cocker's *Arithmetick*, dated 1667, with portrait; Roman antiquities, mostly found in Cheshire, consisting of four gold rings, in one instance with a god or goddess engraved on the jewel; gold chains, with links of curious green stone called *prez*, fibula or shawl-pin of gold, and gold ornaments, pronounced by the late Mr. Joseph Mayer to be part of a gold mask.

Mr. W. Johnson (Leek) showed an arquebus, a sack-bottle, and a Treacle Bible.

Mr. Dryden Sneyd (Leek), a portion of a Celtic axe.

Mr. Samuel Eyre (Leek), a British burial casket.

Mr. A. Scrivener showed two pieces of ancient Staffordshire pottery, *History and Antiquities of the Church and City of Lichfield*, by the Rev. Thomas Harewood, published in 1806; *History and Antiquities of Eccleshall Manor, and of Lichfield House, in London*, by Samuel Pegge, published in 1817; a folio volume of monumental effigies and tombs near Elford Church; old Staffordshire maps and photographs of recent discoveries at Burton Abbey.

Mr. W. Wells-Bladen showed two horn cores recently found in the deep drainage at Stone, and pronounced by Professor Boyd Dawkins, of Owens College, Manchester, to be *bos urus (primigenus)*; a Roman horse-shoe found in the deep drainage at Stone; and an aboriginal tomahawk, found in a garden at Mossman's Bay, New South Wales.

Mr. W. H. Goss showed, amongst other interesting objects, a bronze lamp from Pompeii, Dr. Johnson's snuffbox, typical examples of Derbyshire flint implements, prehistoric American flints, and fragments of an ancient British urn from Darley Dale. Mr. Goss also

showed a Roman bronze tripod and a brank or bridle for scolds, the latter of which was formerly owned by the Corporation of Bewdley, Salop.

Mr. Tonkinson lent an early seventeenth-century drinking mug and the first volume of the *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*.

Col. M. D. Hollins lent a collection of ancient encaustic tiles taken from Malvern Abbey, Salisbury Cathedral, Canning House (Bristol), St. Alban's, Draycott, Blithfield, St. Chad's, Elford, Wychnor, many of the patterns of which have been reproduced by the eminent firm of Minton, Hollins, & Co.

Mr. F. Barke showed the lower part of a quern for grinding corn, dug up on the Basford Hall estate; also a quaint-looking tile brought from a church in Shropshire.

Dr. Hinde lent fragments of a cinerary urn pierced for firing; also worked flints from Lorne gravels, co. Antrim.

The Rev. T. W. Daltry lent a few remains from the Chesterton Camp, recently found by a section of the North Staffordshire Field Club; also some absolutely Roman work from the Caistor Camp, Norfolk, contrasting ancient and mediæval mortar. He also showed a copy of the first edition of Erdeswicke's *Staffordshire* (1723).

Mr. C. Lynam showed some plaster casts of portions of old Staffordshire church bells.

Messrs. Mort lent casts and squeezes of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman coins now in the Royal Collections at Stockholm, struck at the Stafford mint, and described by Mr. Cherry in *Stafford in Olden Times*.

Mr. Cherry contributed several examples of sixteenth-century printing, a map of Staffordshire dated 1592, and a map of Africa of the date of 1589, the last-named showing that the Lakes Victoria and Albert were known to the Portuguese missionaries and explorers of that time as the sources of the Nile (as they were to Herodotus more than 400 years B.C.), and that Speke, Grant, and Baker only re-discovered them.

The last important exhibit placed on the stands was lent by the late Mr. E. P. Loftus Brock, F.S.A., Hon. Treas., being a selection of Egyptian objects collected by the late Professor Flinders Petrie during recent excavations in Egypt.





## Proceedings of the Association.

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WEDNESDAY, 15 JAN. 1896.

THOS. BLASHILL, Esq., V.P., HON. TREAS., IN THE CHAIR.

B. H. CUNNINGTON, Esq., F.S.A.Scot., of Devizes, was elected a Member.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :—

*To the Society*, for "Somersetshire Archæological and Natural History Society Proceedings". 1895.

" " for "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society for 1894-95", vol. xviii, Part 2.

" " for "Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects", Nov.—Oct. 1895, and vol. iii, 3rd Series.

" " for "Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland", Part 4, No. V.

" " for "Soc. des Antiquaires de la Morinie, Bulletin Historique", 173, 174, livraisons; and "Les Chartes de Saint-Bertin", par M. L'Abbé Bled, 1895.

*To the Editor*, for "Reliquary and Illustrated Archæologist", vol. ii, No. I.

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited a Nolan amphora; an Elizabethan bottle; some ancient shoe-soles from below the ground in Stoney Street, Tooley Street; several Roman and mediæval spoons; one blade of a pair of shears, with the tang curled over to form a knife; some early conical bullets; a square Egyptian bead of lapis lazuli, with three piercings for threading the object in a network over the mummy, bearing the bull Apis and royal cartouches.

Mr. C. Davis, of Wandsworth, exhibited an old copper medal or token of Pope Gregory XIII, bearing an illustration of the "Ugonotorum Strages, 1572", with several other medals and tokens of mediæval dates.

In the absence of the author, Mr. G. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper by Mr. J. W. Tonks, entitled "Borough Seals and Civic Maces." It is hoped this paper will be printed in the *Journal* hereafter.

WEDNESDAY, 5 FEBRUARY 1896.

REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents :—

*To the Society*, for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London", 2nd Ser., vol. xv, Nos. III, IV.

" " for "The Archæological Journal", vol. lii, No. 208.

" " for "Collections Historical and Archæological relating to Montgomeryshire", vol. xxix, I.

" " for "Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles", tome 10ème.

*To the Smithsonian Institution*, for "An Account of the Smithsonian Institution". Washington, 1895.

" " for Smithsonian Collections: "Indexes to the Literatures of Cerium and Lanthanum". By W. H. Magee. Washington, 1895.

" " for "Index to the Literature of Didymium". By A. C. Langmuir. 1894.

" " for "On the Densities of Oxygen and Hydrogen". By Edward W. Morley. 1895.

Mr. R. Earle Way exhibited a hand-made cup and a saucer of clay, sun-dried or peat-baked (not turned on a wheel), from Stornoway in the Isle of Lewis, N.B. This ware is still made by two old ladies, and sold as curiosities to visitors. A glaze is marbled on the ware by pouring milk over it when hot.

Mr. Birch exhibited a photograph of an old enamel, and read a communication concerning it from M. Th. Kounderewitch of Kiew, asking for any information concerning it, accompanied with the following description :—

"Planche en cuivre plaqué d'argent, emaille transparente, hauteur 214 millimètres ; largeur, 184 millimètres. Le sujet représente les derniers moments de Notre Seigneur Jesus Christ ; Marie, Joseph, Jean Baptiste, et une figure agenouillée du commandeur au pied de la croix. La terre et les collines sont en couleur vert foncé, bleu et vert, parsemé de l'herbe en or ; les edifices surmontés des croix d'or au second

plan sont d'un brun gris rehaussé d'or. Le ciel est en couleur bleuâtre, orné des étoiles, des points, des annellets et des petites groupes des rayons dorés, les nuages au dessous de la croix de la couleur violette sombre, rehaussé d'or ; la partie du ciel, qu'on voit au dessus des nuages est en or, la croix est en couleur marron clair avec des veines couleur noir plus foncé, rehaussé d'or. La couleur du corp du Seigneur est en couleur de chaire bleuâtre comme chez les autres personnes. Le costume du capucin (probable St. Joseph) qui se trouve à gauche est en couleur violette foncé rehaussé d'or ; le costume de la figure agenouillée, qui se trouve au pied de la croix (probable commandeur) est en couleur lilas foncé, rehaussé d'or ; la bordure sur le col, la poitrine et sur les manches sont de la même couleur, mais plus foncée ; le costume de la Sainte Vierge est détruite en partie inférieure, mais porte les traces d'une couleur violette. L'habit inférieure de Saint Jean est de la couleur verte transparente, la ceinture et le manteau sont de la couleur lilas transparente rehaussé d'or ainsi que les cheveux. La planche en cuivre est de l'autre côté aussi émaillée, l'émaille et d'une couleur jaunâtre avec des veines comme sur le marbre."

The enamel is evidently a fine specimen of sixteenth century art-workmanship ; but there is no clue to the identity of the kneeling figure for whom the illustration was evidently designed and executed.

Mr. H. Syer Cuming, V.P., F.S.A.Scot., contributed a paper on the "Dolium and Doliolum", which was read in his absence by Mr. G Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, and will be printed hereafter.

WEDNESDAY, 19 FEB. 1896.

T. BLASHILL, ESQ., V.P., HON. TREASURER, IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. Allan Ovenden Collard, 8 Buckingham Street, Adelphi, was duly elected a Member of the Association.

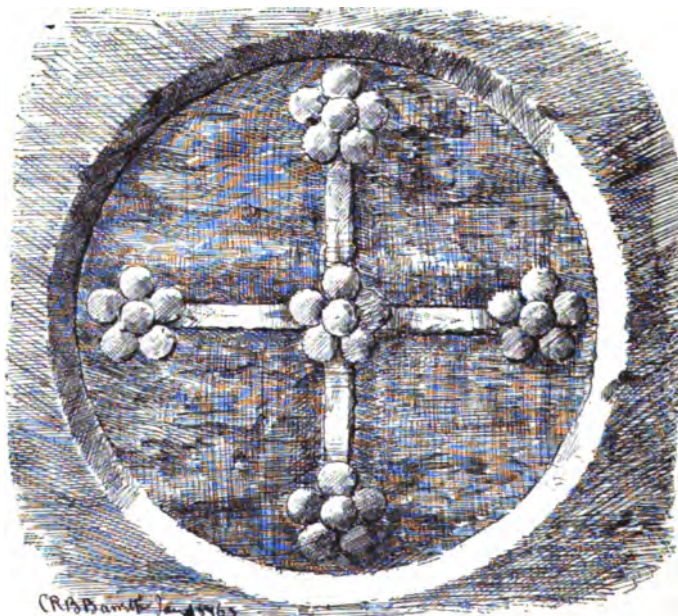
Thanks were ordered to be returned for the following presents :—

*To the Society*, for "Archæologia Cambrensis", 5th Series, No. XLIX, Jan. 1896.

Mr. Blashill exhibited a collection of ancient iron remains, including two horseshoes, a padlock, a key, a boathook, three knives, two forks, one pewter spoon, and a grinder-tooth of horse, from Puddle-dock, Whitefriars.

Mr. C. R. B. Barrett, M.A., read "Notes on the Consecration-Crosses of Ohedzoy Church, Co. Somerset", and exhibited a drawing of one of

them. Mr. Barrett said :—"A few weeks since, while investigating the battle-field of Sedgemoor, I visited Chedzoy in due course. On the exterior of the church I found four consecration-crosses of large size and ornate design. Their positions are as follow : No. 1 on the south wall of the nave ; No. 2 at the south-west corner of the nave ; Nos. 3 and 4 on the north side. One of these is almost hidden by ivy. Ivy covers the whole of the tower, and possibly a fifth cross is thereby hidden.



"The church is dedicated to St. Mary, and has been recently restored. Over the south porch door is a curious stone carving inserted. It is divided into three panels. That on

LEFT.	CENTRE.	RIGHT.
H. P.	1579	R. B.
above a folded ribbon, inside which is a quaint dragon.	— R. F.	Possibly Richard Bere, Abbot of Glastonbury.

And in this case the panel would be an insertion.

"Inside the church I saw, on a former occasion, some fair bench-ends. There is also preserved at the Rectory an altar-cloth made from a beautifully embroidered cope which was found beneath the pulpit some years ago.

"With regard to these consecration-crosses, they are interesting

from their size and their decorative character. They are cut in relief on a coarse, yellow stone, different from that used in the rest of the church. A cross at Great Dunmow, in Essex, is also in relief, but quite plain. Elsewhere there are examples to be found of plain crosses. The internal cross on the pillar in Carshalton Church, now destroyed, and of which, some years ago, I showed a rubbing, was ornamental in a way, but was merely incised.

"The size of the Chedzoy crosses is, as nearly as I could ascertain, 12 ins. diameter."

In the absence of the author, Mr. G. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper communicated by Mr. Walter Money, F.S.A., on "The Parish Registers of Newbury, Co. Bucks", which it is hoped will be printed in the *Journal* hereafter.

Mr. Allen Walker read a paper on some recent discoveries at Austin Friars, Old Broad Street, London, and exhibited some illustrations, with bosses, moulded arches, and other details.

In the discussion which ensued, the Chairman, Mr. Barrett, and Mr. Patrick, took part.

WEDNESDAY, 4 MARCH 1896.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Capt. C. J. Higgins, 58 Pelham Road, Wimbledon, S.W., was duly elected a Member.

A paper was read upon "The Mediæval and Renaissance Architecture of France", by Mrs. Collier. The subject was very ably treated, and the paper was well illustrated by a large number of engravings, prints, and photographs.

An interesting discussion followed, in which Mr. S. W. Kershaw, F.S.A., drew attention to the charm of the old châteaux and the beauty of the ornamental details of their architecture.

Mr. G. B. Dobson also spoke in allusion to the incongruous nature of many of the carvings of figure-subjects to be seen in the Continental churches, some of which were clearly visible in the illustrations to the paper; and reminded the meeting that this was mainly owing to sculptures from heathen temples having been used to represent Christian subjects in the early mediæval days.

Mr. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, in expressing his sense of the interesting nature of the paper, pointed out that the geographical position of France with regard to Italy was very favourable to the early reception of the classical ideas and forms of the Italian architects of the Renais-



sance period, Brunelleschi, Alberti, and Bramante. The influence of Bramante in particular upon the French architects of the day is traceable in much of the refinement of the French buildings of the sixteenth century.

WEDNESDAY, 18 MARCH 1896.

REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A., IN THE CHAIR.

Mr. G. B. Dobson, Bartholomew Chambers, West Smithfield, was elected an Honorary Corresponding Member.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to *The Society*, for the "Transactions of the Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles, tome 7ème."

Mr. Sills sent for exhibition a carving of shale from Cattack in India, between Madras and Bombay. It is about 7 ins. in height, and represents an itinerant musician with a flute or musical instrument, and accompanied with a female dancer, smaller in stature, on the right hand side. The date is uncertain.

Mr. C. Barrett exhibited a tortoise-shell snuff-box ornamented with a chased silver oval medallion-portrait of King Charles I, having on the reverse the intertwined initial letters R. B.

Mr. Barrett also exhibited an encaustic tile from Godstow Nunnery near Oxford, and read some notes on "A Historic Table in Carlisle Castle," which was illustrated with a drawing of the table itself. The notes will appear hereafter in the *Journal*.

Mr. G. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited an encaustic tile from Pershore Abbey, Worcestershire; four Dutch tiles with a skating scene, flowers, and apparently a Biblical scene; a Russian plaque illuminated with figures of Saints, Mary the Virgin, Pantaleon, Anne, Simeon, and others; portion of a carved ivory triptych, of English fourteenth century work, representing the presentation of the Infant Jesus in the Temple; a painting of Christ, half-length, on a plaque enamelled; and a base-metal ring with false heraldry, found in London, with a badge of a musical society, consisting of wind-instruments interlaced.

Dr. Alfred C. Fryer contributed a paper on "Recent Excavations in Awatobi and Sikyatki, Arizona," which it is hoped will be printed in a future part of the *Journal*.



## Antiquarian Intelligence.

*The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Scotland from the earliest Christian Times.* By DAVID MACGIBBON and THOMAS ROSS. Vol. i. (Edinburgh: Douglas, 1896.)—The authors of the *Castellated and Domestic Architecture of Scotland*, which was reviewed in the *Journal* at the time of its appearance, not many years ago, have added to our indebtedness to them by the publication of their first volume of a work dealing with the architecture of the ecclesiastical and monastic edifices still extant in Scotland, in a uniform style and treatment to that of their first work. The liberal way in which between four and five hundred illustrations, plans, elevations, views, and details, have been introduced, renders the task of following the remarks of the authors easy and profitable.

After an introductory essay pointing out the various methods of the Celtic art of building, and dealing with the cells of anchorites, round towers, the Roman, the Romanesque, and later styles, practised not only in Scotland but elsewhere in Europe, and the influence which was exercised by English and French work upon native efforts, the subject is taken in hand by treating first of all the simple oblong churches associated with beehive cells, and churches in groups, such as that of Eilean Naomh, an island in Argyleshire, where twin beehive huts occur, and Kilbar, where a triangular-headed doorway enclosed in a semicircular arch is found on the north side of the church. Hermits' cells and Celtic churches of various kinds follow; foremost among which latter must be mentioned the dry-built churches, of which Tigh Beannachadh, in Lewis, claims attention. Norman influence was in a little later, and Kilmory may be taken as one of the many interesting specimens of this class.

A section follows dealing with the oldest churches to which a chancel or nave has been added at a later date, well illustrated by Eilean Mor Church. At this point the authors introduce an account of the churches in Orkney and Shetland, which were drawn and described by Sir Henry Dryden, Bart., about forty years ago. This is arranged in order of date of erection, and deals with some of the most interesting sculptures in the whole of the book. The favourite type seems to be

the oblong nave, to which is attached a chancel of smaller dimensions. Of the transition from Celtic to Norman, the three examples of Abernethy, Restennet, and St. Rule at St. Andrew's, have well deserved the careful treatment which they have received here, and the peculiar details of the two latter are well and fully shown.

In Norman architecture, as would be expected, there is no lack of specimens, and in the wealth of illustrations it is difficult to say which strikes the eye most effectively. Dunfermline Abbey, the chancel-arch of St. Blane's Chapel in Bute Island, Dalmeny Church, the semicircular apse of Leuchars, Kelso Abbey, and the south doorway of Kirkliston, are each and every of them beautiful types of Scottish styles influenced by the all-pervading force of beauty which Norman design had brought to bear on the rugged strength evinced with disregard for elegance that was affected in previous times.

To these naturally follows the Transition style, practised in the best manner, and brought to a high perfection by the Cistercians, who made Scotland a land of monastic beauty, and imparted a poetic touch of proportional symmetry and chaste gracefulness to a country naturally beautiful in an entirely different way. These buildings are, as it were so many highly polished gems in hyperborean settings. Dundrennan (Cist.), Jedburgh (Canons Regular), Coldingham (Cist.), and Dryburgh (Cist.), are buildings not easily described, but the authors of this work have left little unsaid about them. The work gives distinct aid towards understanding aright the many glorious buildings which piety has reared in Scotland in the old days, and which love of what is old leads some among us, in these later days, to ponder over and to admire, to venerate and to preserve.

*Prehistoric Man in Ayrshire.* By JOHN SMITH. (London: Stock 1895.)—The earliest notices that we have gleaned about man in this county, show that civilisation has progressed exactly in the same way all over these islands, probably in the same way all over the world. The gradual developments which palæolithic and neolithic implements exhibit; the adaptation of natural advantages by enhancing them with small obvious additions, and thereby leading up to the manufacture of so-called arrow-heads and flakes, saws, balls, celts, rings, charms, etc.; the discovery of the art of founding metals; the preparation of habitations and strongholds; and all the varied courses whereby the connections which unite the past to the present,—may be traced in Ayrshire as fully as in any other district ever traversed by man.

Mr. Smith has arranged his researches by an order of topography, and has lavishly illustrated the vestiges (not always strictly prehis-

oric) which he has met with in the perambulation of his field of work. There is, verily, no lack of material at home for the explorer who sets about detailed examination of any such prolific site as Ayrshire evidently offers to the antiquary. Caves and coffins; cromlechs and crannogs, monoliths, circles, walls, and sculptured rocks, in turn yield up their long-unheeded and misunderstood story, when looked at in the light which Mr. Smith has shed on them. Precious stones, glass, metals, pottery, and all the prized paraphernalia of prehistoric man, reward the finder with a rich harvest in payment for his task. By the study of this book we may make ourselves familiar with manners and customs that prevailed in Britain so long ago that no one has as yet ever categorically declared the exact number of millennia which have elapsed since all these things were the current apparatus of human life. It is well they should be recorded ere they disappear before the irresistible march of destruction which characterises the present condition of man, and Mr. Smith has merited, in this respect, the thanks of all archæologists.

*A Perambulation of the Ancient and Royal Forest of Dartmoor and the Venville Precincts.* By the late SAMUEL ROWE, M.A. Third edit. Revised by J. BROOKING ROWE, F.S.A. (Exeter : Commis, 1896.)—This is a charming book, full of old-world interest, records, forest-lore and anecdotes, descriptive scenery, dainty sketches, geology, natural history, botany, and bibliography. It makes one long to visit the places, which it has invested with a glory that no other site in England possesses,—the forest of all forests for extent, wildness, history, contents, and all that makes a country open-air life irresistible. The antiquarian aspect of the district is beyond dispute; and there are relics prehistoric, relics historic, mediæval, and post-mediæval, sufficient to satisfy every wish and fulfil every desire; for upwards of 280,000 acres of land cannot possibly exist in any civilised country without possessing a vast amount of local attraction and interest;—and the author and editor of this book have made the district their study, and have not failed to arouse and sustain the reader's feelings from the beginning to end of it.

*Nooks and Corners of Pembrokeshire, drawn and described by* H. THORNHILL TIMMINS, F.R.G.S. (London : Stock, 1895.)—Pembrokeshire has always been a favourite Welsh county for historians and artists, from the days of Fenton to the present time. Not long ago we welcomed Mr. E. Laws' *Little England Beyond Wales*, dealing with the peninsular district of the southern part of the county. Now we

have to hail a further work on Pembrokeshire, in which the author and draughtsman has gathered up a long array of attractive facts from books which have passed before him, adding to them many quaint tales, descriptive passages of scenery, and notices of antiquities and personages, and embellishing the whole with sketches which bring back forcibly to the minds of those who have been happy enough to visit the actual sites the memories of their past pilgrimages in Southern Cymric. Castles, churches, tumuli, ancient sculptured slabs, and carvings of every kind, meet the wanderer at every turn; and they are fully treated in this work, which pleases in reading by the fact that it is not written in a heavy, prosaic style, but lightly and daintily, filled with anecdotes and tales of current lore.

Well calculated as it is to give a general idea of the aspects of ancient Pembrokeshire, it will also serve as a guide, endowed with judgment and intelligence, if carefully perused before setting out to follow the author in his excursions and itineraries over the land wherein he has left few objects of interest unnoticed. Twelve years have elapsed since the Tenby Congress introduced to our members the, to them, novel aspects of the county. This work will keep alive in their memory the principal antiquities they visited on that occasion; it will even make them desire more than ever to revisit the district of South Wales at no very distant day.





THE JOURNAL  
OF THE  
British Archaeological Association.

JUNE 1896.

NOTES ON SOME ANCIENT STONE FORTS IN  
CARNARVONSHIRE.

BY LADY PAGET.

(*Read 15 April 1896.*)



It is related by Professor Skene that "the earliest known inhabitants of Great Britain and Ireland were of the Iberian type, small, dark-skinned, and curly-haired, with long skulls. These were followed by the Celts, consisting of two great branches, the British and Gadhelic branch. One was fair-skinned, large-limbed, and red-haired, and were represented in Britain by the people of the interior, whom the Romans thought to be indigenous, and who, after the Roman province was formed, were called by them Picts, or painted people. They are represented in the legendary history of Ireland by the Tuath de Danann, and by the Cruithnigh, a name which was the Irish equivalent of the Latin 'Picti', and was applied to the Picts of Scotland, and to the people who preceded the Scots in Ulster. Throughout the whole of the Welsh

documents the Picts are usually denominated Gwyddyl Ffichti, while the Irish are simply termed Gwyddyl.<sup>1</sup>

“The name Gwyddyl Ffichti, as applied to the Picts, rests on better authority than that of the *Triads*. In the old poems, though the Picts are usually termed the Brithwyn, yet this name of Gwyddyl Ffichti is also applied to them, as in a curious old poem in the *Book of Taliesin*.....Five chiefs there shall be of the Gwyddyl Ffichti...Three races wrathful of right qualities, Gwyddyl, Bythron, and Romani, create war and tumult.”<sup>2</sup>

The following quotation, given by Mr. Goudie in his letter to *The Shetland News* (Dec. 21, 1895), is worthy of consideration :—“The highest authority among Scandinavian antiquaries, J. J. A. Worsaae (Minister of Public Instruction in Denmark), now deceased, whom I had the honour of meeting in Copenhagen in 1880, did not hesitate for a moment to assign these Brough structures to the Celts or ‘Picts’; and this is amply brought out in his valuable book, *An Account of the Danes and Norwegians in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, published (translation) in London, 1852, by Gilbert Goudie. We find the seaboard of Wales, on the west, in the occupation of the Gwyddyl or Gaul, and the Cymry confined to the eastern part of Wales only, and placed between them and the Saxons. A line drawn from Conway in the north to Swansea in the south would separate the two races of the Gwyddyl and the Cymry on the west and on the east.”<sup>3</sup>

It is also on record that “the Dananns spoke the same language as their predecessors, the Firbolgs. I believe these Tuatha-de-Dananns, no matter from whence they came, were, in addition to their other acquirements, great masons. I think they were the builders of the great stone cahirs, duns, cashels, and caves in Ireland; while their predecessors constructed the earthen works, the raths, circles, and forts that diversify the fields of Erin.”<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland* (1876).

<sup>2</sup> W. F. Skene, *Taliesin, the Four Ancient Books of Wales* (1868).

<sup>3</sup> W. F. Skene, *State of Wales in the Sixth Century* (1868).

<sup>4</sup> Address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association, Belfast, 1879, by Sir William Wilde, M.D.

In connection with these stone forts an Ogam stone has been deciphered by Sir S. Ferguson, showing they were in use during the Pictish period. The story is as follows, and is recorded on a stone which he discovered near an old earth fort on Mount Brandon in Kerry. He reads:—"The stone of Curoi Mac Daire. Cuchullain and Conor, two champions of the Red Branch, heard of the beauty of Blanaid, daughter of the King of the Picts, and to win her invaded her country. When embarking they were met by a peasant, whose apparent strength induced them to ask him to join their party. He consented on condition he should have whatever object in the spoil he chose. This was Curoi, and he chose Blanaid. They had to yield her; but she had seen Cuchullain, and much preferred him to her husband. They kept up a secret intercourse, and arranged their plot. She persuaded Curoi to send off his vassals on a foray. On a concerted signal, Cuchullain stormed the fort, killed Curoi, and carried off the lady. After some time a wandering minstrel came to their dwelling, and his skill was such that the chief retained him in his service. At last, when visiting Dunseverich Fort, the bard walked on with Blanaid, drew her to the edge of the precipice, and telling her he was Curoi's bard, come to avenge his master on his faithless wife, seized her in his arms, and leaped from the precipice."

I received this account, some years back, in a private letter from the Rev. Dr. Robinson, the Observatory, Armagh, Ireland. The Fort of Conor, or Dun Concho-bhair, is on the middle island of Arran, and is described in *Notes on Irish Architecture*, by Edwin, third Earl of Dunraven, edited by Margaret Stokes.

"Cathbad, a Druid of the Picts of Ulster, had three daughters. The eldest, Dectum, was the mother of the celebrated champion, Cuchullain."<sup>1</sup>

Thus, according to Prof. Skene, the Celtic Picts inhabited the western coast of Wales, and were known there as the Gwyddyl Ffichti, inhabiting especially the mountainous districts, though not entirely confined to the sea-coast.

<sup>1</sup> W. F. Skene, *Celtic Scotland*.



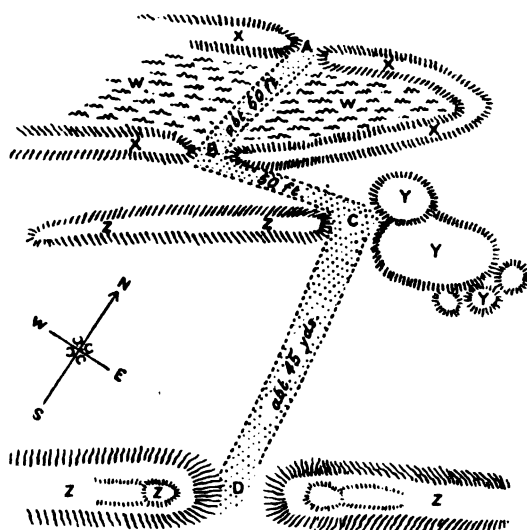
It may be mentioned that about the same period the earliest colonists in Ireland, the Firbolgs and Tuatha-de-Danann tribes, which our historians bring hither from Greece at a very remote period, were accustomed to build not only these fortresses, but even their dome-roofed houses and sepulchres, of stone without cement, and in the style now usually called Cyclopean and Pelasgic.<sup>1</sup>

But remains probably belonging to the Picts are still to be found in Wales. In Carnarvonshire alone there can be easily traced thirty-six uncemented stone fortresses or forts between the river Conway and the Eifl, the western ridge of the Snowdon Mountains. Most of these are nearly or quite destroyed. The stones on Caer Seiont may still be seen in the picturesque walls of Conway Castle, while the mountain cottages and walls have laid claim to the stones of other ancient buildings. The first uncemented stone fortress in Wales to which attention should be given is that of Pen-y-Gaer, in Carnarvonshire, North Wales, probably belonging to the Gwyddyl Ffichti, on account of an interesting similarity between the building arrangements for its defence, and those of the Dun Aengusa (or Fort Aengus) on the island of Aranmor, on the west coast of Galway, Ireland; both having upright stones placed in front of the entrance, described as follows in *Notes on Irish Architecture*, by Edwin, third Earl of Dunraven:—"A feature worthy of note in the military defence of this fortress is the manner in which the approach across the open space of the exterior ward is rendered difficult. A few yards in advance of the wall are placed long, narrow stones set on end, and sloping irregularly outwards, and placed at irregular distances, but with about room for a man to pass between them. This labyrinth of stones is evidently intended, like the *chevaux-de-frise* of a modern fortification, to retard the approach of an assailant, and to scatter and expose to the weapons of the garrison any body of men who might have crossed the exterior wall."

*The Prehistoric Fort of Pen-y-Gaer.*—A plan of the ancient fort of Pen-y-Gaer was kindly taken for me by

<sup>1</sup> Geo. Petrie, *The Ecclesiastical Architecture of Ireland: the Round Towers* (1845).

Mr. James Thompson, eldest son of the Warden of Radley College, near Oxford, and is here given. In general its shape is oval, with two gates. The north-east, east, and south-east sides of the hill being very steep, are only defended by a single line of stonework. The north-west, west, and south-west sides, being less steep, are defended by a triple line of earthworks in addition to



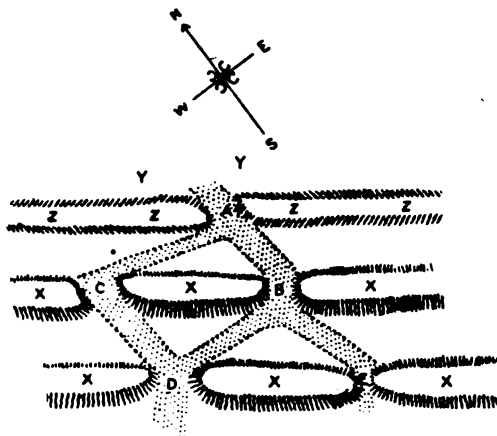
Pen-y-Gaer.—Gate on North-West Side.

- |      |   |          |
|------|---|----------|
| A.   | Outer Entrance, about 7 ft. wide  | } Gates. |
| B.   | Second " "  |          |
| C.   | Third " "   |          |
| D.   | Inner " "   |          |
| X.X. | Earthworks about 3 ft. high.  |          |
| Z.Z. | Strong Stone Defence; inner one about 20 ft. thick.   |          |
| Y.Y. | Remains of circular Entrenchments, very numerous.   |          |
| W.W. | Space in which Ground is covered with sharp Rocks, apparently to hinder the Enemy's Approach. |          |

strong stone fortifications. The two gates come on the north-west and the south-west sides, and in each case towards the west end of the side.

It was in this stronghold that, according to the *Mabinogion*, Math ap Mathonwy held his court. He was lord over Gwynedd, and known as a great magician. This uncemented stone fortress is called in the *Mabinogion* "Caer Dathyl" and "Caer Dathal", and it has been called

in later times "Caer Helen". It is situated on the summit of a hill, about a mile distant from Llanbedr, between Llanrwst and Conway.



Pen-y-Gaer.—Gate on South-West Side.

- A. Inner Entrance, about 8 ft. wide.
- B. Second " " "
- C. " " (additional) "
- D. Outer " about 10 ft. wide.
- E. " " (additional) "
- Z.Z. Strong Stone Defences, but weaker than at North-West Gate.
- X.X. Earthworks, very strong.
- Y.Y. Interior of Fort, with numerous circular Entrenchments.

The name of Pen-y-Gaer as Caer Dathal occurs in an elegy on the death of Owen Gwynedd, *circa* 1169 :

"Around the region of Caer Dathal  
Lay those whom the vultures had mangled,  
Reddening the hill and the headland and the lake."<sup>1</sup>

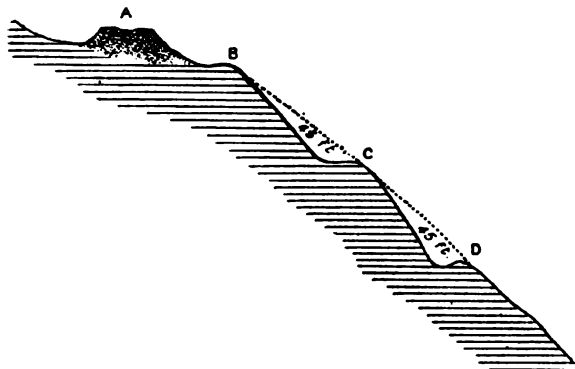
These lines lead to the supposition that the ancient fortress was inhabited as late as the twelfth century.

Two miles east of Pen-y-Gaer, in the plain near the river Conway, are found the remains of the Roman Conovium. After the departure of the Romans it became Rhun's chief residence, and from him obtained its subsequent name of Caer Rhun. He died in A.D. 586. "Rhun

<sup>1</sup> *Cambro-Briton*, vol. ii, p. 3.

ap Maelgwyn Gwynedd was the most graceless man in the world."<sup>1</sup>

A very perfect British shield was found in these ruins during the present century. It is now preserved in Hawarden Castle.



Pen-y-Gaer.—South-West Side. Section of Triple Defences.  
A. Stone Defences. B, C, D. Lines of Earthworks.

*Caer Bach*.—About two miles north from Pen-y-Gaer, and on the south-east of the Tal-y-Fan mountain, as marked on the Ordnance Map, is *Caer Bach*, apparently one of the numerous watch or signal-towers, built of uncemented stone, which are found about two miles distant from each other over every part of the mountains; thus showing that the enemies they dreaded came from the land as well as from the sea.

Before calling attention to these ancient fortresses (all of uncemented stones) in the parish of Dwygyfylchi, Carnarvonshire, the general features of the country ought to be considered. The tourist of to-day, climbing Pen-maenmawr or *Caer Seiont*, must realise that they were once thickly wooded, and three or four miles from the sea, the river *Ell* dividing Carnarvonshire from Anglesea.

*Llys Helig*.—There is in this neighbourhood an interesting old palace called *Llys Helig*, now submerged. Some of the walls, of uncemented stone, about 10 ft. high, can still be seen, and walked upon at low spring tides, between *Gogarth* and *Priestholme*. The writer has been to the walls.

<sup>1</sup> *Mabinogion*.

“ Hellig<sup>1</sup> ap Glannog, Lord of Abergele, Rhos Arllechwedd Llyn, Cantred Gwaylod, and Earle of Herefford. In his tyme happened the greate inundation which surrounded Cantredd Gwaylod, and the most delicate, fruitful, and pleasant vale lyinge from Bangor Vawr yn Gwynedd to Gogarth, and so on to Digauwy or Gannog Castle; in length and in breadth from Dwygyfylchi to the point of Flintshire, which came up from Ruthlan to Priestholme (otherwise Puffin Island), and in the upper end thereof did extend in breadth from Aber and Llanfair unto the river Ell. Which did divide Caernarvonshire from Anglesey; and did likewise divide Anglesey from Flintshire, runnyng between Penmon and Priestholme, and so dischardgyng yttself into the sea, a greate way beyond Priestholme. This Flood did surround many other rich and ffruytfull vales within the Counties of Caenarvon, Fflint, Anglesey and Merionedd; most of them beinge the landes of Helig ap Glannog, whose chiefest Palace stood in this Vale, muche about the myddle way from Penmaenmawr to Gogarth (Orme's Head), the ruins whereof is now to be seene, upon a ground ebb, some two miles within the sea directly over against Trwyn yr Wylfa; which is a hille beyng in the myddest of the parishe of Dwygyfylchi, within the landes of Sir John Bodvil, Knight; unto whiche hill Helig ap Glannog and his people did run uppe to save themselves, beyng endangered with the sudden breakyng in of the sea uppon them, and then saved their lyves; and beyng come uppe to the pointe of that hill, and lookinge backe and beholdyng that dreadfull and ruthfull spectacle which they had to survey and looke uppon instead of their incomparable vale. Helig and all his people wringing their hands, made a great outcrie, bewaylinge their misfortune, and calling unto God for mercy. The point of which hill to this day is called Trwyn yr Wylfa, that is the Point of the Mourninge Hill.”

*Traeth Ell, or Traeth-y-Leven (Traeth Aflawen).—*

<sup>1</sup> Extracts from *Caernarvonshire Antiquities*, from an old MS., communicated by J. Wright, Esq., F.S.A., to *Archæologia Cambrensis*, 3rd Ser., vol. vii (1861).

“Llechwedd-ucha doth meane north west uppon the mayne sea that surrounded the delicate vale aforesaid, and in the upper end, from Penmaenmawr to Bangor, doth mean north and west uppon the greate Washe called Traeth Ell; so called from the river Ell, formerly the meare between Carnarvonshire and Anglesey; as Traeth Mawr hath his denomination from the ryver Mawr, which dischardgeth itself through that Washe into the mayne sea; and ytt is alsoe called Traeth y Leven (Traeth Aflawen), that is an unpleasant wharf, because ytt is an unpleasant syght unto the spectators, and a fearfull and dismall objecte, brynginge dayly in minde how unhappy they were to loose soe ffaire, soe ffruitful and soe ffearfull a country, beyinge beaten backe with overwhelmyng waves.”

*Conway River.*—“The general tradition of the country says that the river Conway emptied itself to the sea, in the direction of Rhos Mynach, below the church of Llan-drillo yn Rhos.” It was before the great inundation took place, of the sixth century, that the river flowed in this direction. “It has been celebrated from the earliest period of British history for its pearl-fishery. Pliny asserts that Julius Cæsar dedicated to Venus Genetrix, in her temple at Rome, a breastplate set with British pearls. The shell in which they are found is called the pearl-mussel; its Linnæan name is *Mya Margaritifera*.”

*Caer Seion or Caer Scion*—On Penmaen Bach is the large town and citadel of Castell Caer Seion. This camp is erroneously called Castell Caer Lleion, after Pennant. The remains of this fortress, built without mortar or cement, can easily be traced along the mountain ridge, with numerous Pictish-formed habitations on the south and west sides of the hill. This fortress is often alluded to in ancient Welsh documents. It is situated in the parish of Dwygyfylch, or Caergyvylchi (“Dwy” meaning *two*, and “Gyfylchi” *in the form of a gap*).

According to the *Mabinogion*, it was to this fortress that the starling reared by Bronwen flew, which bore, tied to its wing, the letter from Bronwen, in Ireland, to

her brother Bendigald Vran (or Bran the Blessed), complaining of her husband Matholwch's cruel treatment of her.

About a mile from Dinas Penmaenmawr stands the most remarkable monument called Y Meinen Hirion. We are indebted to Mr. E. Davies for observing that Hywel's Caer of the Cyvylchi, in Eyri in Avon, was the circle of pillar-stones called Y Meinen Hirion, enclosing an earthen vallum, and themselves enclosed by a wall on the mount of Dwygyfylchi "Wynne of Gwydir".

*Y Meinen Hirion.*—Howell Dha ap Cadell ap Rodri Mawr, the Welsh legislator, in compiling his celebrated Welsh Code in the tenth century, made use of the laws of Dyvynwal Moelmud. Now it was translated to the writer from an old Welsh book (author forgotten), that Hywel Dha had his residence on Allt Gwyn Penmaen Bach, where foundations of a strong fort can still be seen. Also that he had the circle of stones placed on the mountain over Gwddw Glas, on the way to Penmaenmawr, where he used to give judgment. The following story rather confirms this supposition.

About the year 1870, the writer was lodging on the mountain near Gwddw Glas, and the landlady, sent by her husband, hoped the writer would not feel uneasy at several men assembling there in the middle of the night, for they were going up to the circle of stones to settle a dispute about some land, the result being that both parties considered the judgment given at the stones as binding.

*Ceridwen.*—Another subject connected with this village of Dwygyfylchi must not be overlooked. It is that of the goddess Ceridwen, who was worshipped here. "Her temple was at Caer Gyvylchi, near Penmaenmawr, in Carnarvonshire, where a great number of immense stones, showing its circular form, are still to be seen."<sup>1</sup> Ceridwen is generally considered to be the Goddess of Nature of Welsh mythology.<sup>2</sup>

Pair Ceridwen (the cauldron of Ceridwen) is frequently

<sup>1</sup> *Arch. Camb.*, vol. i, p. 71

<sup>2</sup> Notes in the *Mabinogion*.

alluded to by ancient poets. In one of Taliesin's songs this occurs :

"I have obtained the muse from the cauldron of Ceridwen ;  
I have been bard of the harp of Lleon of Lochlin ;  
I have been on the White Hill in the court of Cynvelyn ;  
For a day and a year in stocks and fetters  
I have suffered hunger for the Son of the Virgin."

According to the "Notes" in the *Mabinogion*, Maelgwyn Gwynedd succeeded to his father, Caswallon-law-hir, in the sovereignty of Gwynedd about the year 517 A.D. Taliesin was frequently at his court. The few lines quoted show a curious mixture of heathenism in Ceridwen and faith in the Christ.

A strange superstitious feeling about the cauldron still remains about the Carnarvonshire mountains. About the year 187— a copper cauldron on three legs, which had belonged to a "witch", was to be sold by auction in the parish of D—. The writer, from an antiquarian view, wished to possess the copper cauldron, but the greatest care was taken to prevent the day of the sale being made known. A Welsh friend afterwards explained, "Oh, they (the parishioners) were determined you should not have the cauldron, fearing you would find out through the cauldron any wrongdoing in the parish."

"When Bronwen was married to Matholwch, her brother, Bendigald Vran, gave Matholwch a cauldron with magical powers, saying, 'I had it of a man who had been in thy land'..... He came from Ireland."<sup>1</sup>

*Dinas Penmaen, or Penmaenmawr.*—Mr. Caswel, at the request of Mr. Flamsteed, the great astronomer, who died 1719, measured the height of Penmaenmawr, and found it to be, from the sands, 1,545 ft. ; according to the Ordnance Map it is 1,553 ft. Mr. Caswel found that "after climbing for some space among loose stones, the fronts of three, if not four, walls presented themselves very distinctly, one above the other. In most places the facings appear very perfect, but all of dry work. I measured the height of one wall, which was at the time 9 ft. ; the thickness, 7½ ft. Between these walls, in all

<sup>1</sup> Notes in the *Mabinogion*.



parts, were innumerable small buildings, mostly circular, and regularly faced within and without, but not disposed in any certain order. These buildings had been much higher, as is evident from the fall of stones which lie scattered at their bottoms ; and probably had once the form of towers, as Sir John Wynne asserts. Their diameter in general is from 12 to 18 ft. The walls were in certain places intersected with others equally strong. On the north-west and south-east sides of the plain are marks of two roads of a zigzag form, with remains of walls on both sides, which lead to the summit. There is a well cut in the live rock, and always filled with water."

"Seriol, brother to Helig, had also a hermitage on Penmaenmawr, beyng then an uncouth desarte and unfrequented rocke, beyng so thicke of woode that a man once entered coulde hardly behoulde or see skie or firmament."<sup>1</sup>

There was also another smaller "Dinas" at the head of the Nant, going down to Llanfairfechan. But the largest



Exterior of Sally-Port of Tre'r Ceiri.

and most perfect fort now remaining in Wales is that of Tre'r-ceiri Lleyrn, Carnarvonshire. The walls are still 15 ft. high in some places. There is no trace of mortar ; and it is a marvel walls could have stood so long without it. They were perpendicular inside and out, and there was room for a person to walk along the top, behind a breastwork rising from the outer face. The breastwork was high enough to have defended those within from the

<sup>1</sup> From an old MS.

missiles of the enemy. Within are the remains of numerous huts of either round or rectangular shape. By some the name "Tre'r Ceiri" is thought to mean the Fort or Town of Giants.

Another account given is that of Eifl (Yr), written also Yr Eifyl or Eiffyl. "A high mountain on the sea-coast of Carnarvonshire. On the top of one of its three heads is a surprising fort of vast stones, called Tre'r Ceiri. I read in an old manuscript that the Princes of Scotland, upon the defeat and death of their countryman, Elidir Mwyn-fawr, killed by Rhun ap Maelgwn, landed their forces, and burnt the country from Eifl to Hergyn (Erging Urchinfield)."<sup>1</sup>

*Belyn*.—"Belyn, a great man from Lleyn in Carnarvonshire, mentioned in the *Triads*, and is said to have fought with Edwin, King of the Northumbrians, in Bryn Cenau in Rhos, in the county of Denbigh. This Prince was a terrible scourge to the Saxons."<sup>2</sup>

*Departure of the Gwyddyl*.—"The departure of the Picts from what is now called England and Wales, is noticed in Claudian's poetical description of the exploits of Theodosius in clearing Roman Britain of that day of the Picts, Scots, and Attacotts, A.D. 396."<sup>3</sup>

*The Gwyddell*.—"Urien Rheged came into South Wales, and was instrumental, with the sons of Ceredig ap Cunedda, and his nephew, in expelling the Gwyddelians, who had a footing there from about the time of Maxen Wledig."<sup>4</sup>

"Ceredig ap Cunedda, a chieftain, was instrumental, with his brothers, in driving the Irish from North Wales in the middle of the fifth century, and as a reward for his services he received that part of Wales called Tyno Coch, or the Red Valley, to which he gave the name of Caredigion, or Caredig's country."<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> W. D.

<sup>2</sup> Rev. Evan Evans, *Specimens of the Poetry of the Ancient Welsh Bards* (1764).

<sup>3</sup> John R. Tudor, *The Orkneys and Shetland* (1883).

<sup>4</sup> *Mabinogion*.

<sup>5</sup> Samuel Rush Meyrick, *History and Antiquities of the County of Cardiganshire* (1810).

*Llan-y-Gwyddol, on the Coast of Holyhead.*—"The place of the Irishman; that is, the spot on which Caswallon, of long shanks, killed Serrigi, the King of Ireland"; the name of Holyhead being, according to the old manuscript by John Jones, of Gelly Lydvy, "Caer Ddwyr", and afterwards "Caer Gybi".

Reading "Robin Dhu's" prophecy caused my thoughts to wander. This must be my excuse for introducing the "Castle Spectre" and "Gogarth Abbey":

"I'll rise and dress myself in Mona's Isle,  
Then in Caerlleon to breakfast stay awhile  
In Erin's land my noontide meal I'll eat,  
Return and sup by Mona's fire of peat."

An aged friend, writing to me, mentions about the romantic elopement of Margaret Plantagenet, daughter of Edward III, with her lover, which gave rise to the "Castle Spectre". She adds, "I recollect a song or pretty glee composed by Richard Kelly, the comedian, which was to be sung by the sailor in the boat at the Water Tower of Conway Castle, below the window of the Princess, the words of which commence with,—

"Sleep you or wake you, lady bright?  
Sing, Megan,<sup>1</sup> Oh! Oh! Megan Ie;<sup>2</sup>  
This is the fittest hour for flight;  
Sing, Megan, Oh! Oh! Megan Ie."

"Now from your tyrant father's power,  
Beneath the window of your bower,  
A boat now waits to set you free,  
Sing, Megan, Oh! Oh! Megan Ie."

The Abbey of Gogarth was a summer residence belonging to the Bishops of Bangor. In September 1881, when driving from Llandudno, in Carnarvonshire, round the Great Orme's Head, the driver stopped when nearly opposite the ruins of Gogarth Abbey, at a little wayside refreshment-cottage, to give his horse water. Without alighting from the carriage, the writer observed, built into a low wall by the cottage, a marble basin or font, seemingly of Anglesea marble. On inquiring where it

<sup>1</sup> Megan is the Welsh for Margaret.

<sup>2</sup> Pronounced "le".

came from, the woman replied without hesitation, "Oh! it is the old font from the Abbey there", pointing to Gogarth Abbey.

In April or May 1890, at my request, Prof. Th—, of Cambridge, kindly walked round Great Orme's Head, to the little refreshment-cottage, to make inquiries about the font from Gogarth Abbey. The woman said she had sold the font, some years back, to a Mr. Allen, at the Queen's Hotel, Llandudno, for £2. Whether he was the proprietor or a visitor she could not tell. She then had in her possession two marble basins for holy water from Gogarth Abbey, one on each side of the little gateway.





## ON THE DOLIUM AND DOLIOLUM.

BY H. SYER CUMING, ESQ., F.S.A.SCOT., V.P.

(Read 5 Feb. 1896.)



DIogenES lived in a tub,—such is the popular saying, and such is the vulgar belief,—which has as much foundation in truth as the nursery myth that a certain old lady, together with her numerous offspring, dwelt in a shoe. The home of Diogenes was a huge earthen vessel called *pithos* by the Greeks, and *calpar* and *dolium* by the Romans ; the latter being the later and common designation of this gigantic bowl. In that curious Greek epigraph on lead, described in our *Journal* (xxv, p. 395), it is recorded that Diogenes lived in a *pithos* ; and Juvenal (*Satire* xiv, 308) tells us that the naked cynic dwelt in a *dolium* that would not take fire ; if smashed, another could be built by the morrow, or the same one repaired with a little lead ; *i.e.*, riveted in like way as we see was done with fractured Samian ware. Winckelman, in his *Monumenti Antichi* (tom. ii, p. 229 ; Roma, 1821), has given an engraving of a bas-relief found in the Villa Albani, which exhibits the philosopher reclining in his *pithos*, whilst in converse with Alexander the Great at the gate of the Metroum, or Temple of the Mother of the Gods, at Athens. This enormous vessel is represented with an almost globose body, wide mouth, with thick rounded brim, part of which is broken away ; and one side of the bowl appears to have been cracked, and mended with broad rivets. The Villa Albani sculpture is of high value, for it proves that the ancients believed that Diogenes' snug retreat was an earthen vessel, and shows us

its actual form, which will be a guide to the identification of both *dolia* and *doliola*.

The vast size of the *dolia* rendered them serviceable for many different purposes, and they were employed to hold dry substances as well as fluids. We gather from Plautus (*Pseudolus*, ii, 2, 64), Seneca (*Ep.* 36), and Proculus (*Dig.*, 33, 6, 15), that new wine was kept in *dolia* before it was bottled off into *amphoræ*; and Varro (*De Re Rustica*, i, 22, 4) and Cato (*De Re Rustica*, 10, 4, and 11, 1) speak of their employment for oil, vinegar, etc. They were provided with *opercula*, or lids, which looked much like immense earthen dishes; and these, Pliny tells us (*Hist. Nat.*, xiv, 21), when employed to cover the wine-vessels should be treated with mastick, Bruittian pitch, and other matters.

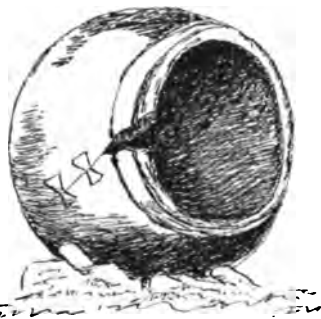
Some huge *dolia* were exhumed at Antium (Torre or Porto d'Anza), which measured  $6\frac{1}{2}$  ft. in height, and 3 ins. in thickness, and having on them inscriptions indicating their capacity at 18 *amphoræ*, equal to about 107 gallons of our measure.

In the British Museum is a fragment of a papyrus giving an account how two hundred Egyptians were secretly conveyed in jars into a fortress of the Juima, and were thus enabled to take it; and these jars, like those of the Forty Thieves in the *Arabian Nights*, we may presume, resembled the Greek *pithos* and Roman *dolium*.

Earthen vessels of enormous capacity and varied form are still made in France, Italy and Spain, and in many parts of the East; and the perfect bodies of the Corouda chiefs of Brazil were formerly interred in large jars, but more in shape of *ollæ* than *dolia*.

Though there is ample evidence, both written and tangible, of the extensive use of *dolia* on the Continent, it is doubtful if there be any trace of their employment in this country, their place having been supplied, in some degree, by *urnæ*, *seriæ*, and large *ollæ*. But though the *dolium* is absent, its diminutive, the *doliolum*, occurs among Roman remains, and served not only for domestic purposes, but for the reception of the ashes of the dead. Its leading characters are its almost globose body and wide, expanded mouth, with rounded edge: it bears, in

fact, a close resemblance in form to the glass bowls in which golden carp were wont to be kept. *Doliola* occur of various sizes, but seldom exceed a foot in height, and were wrought in several parts of England; but the inhabitants of Londinium appear to have drawn their chief supply from the *fornaces* of Kent and Essex.<sup>1</sup> I have a portion of the upper part of a very fine and large *doliolum* from one of the kilns discovered in Tokenhouse Yard, Lothbury, Oct. 24, 1865. It is of a deep greyish-black hue, with shining streaks on the shoulder. The mouth must have measured 8 ins. in diameter in the open, and the brim has an inward declension. I have also a fine and perfect *doliolum* which was exhumed in St. Martin's-le-Grand in 1824, when excavating for the



Dolium, the Home of Diogenes.  
From a Bas-Relief discovered in the Villa Albani.

foundation of the new Post Office, and which was formerly in the Kempe Collection. It is of hard, highly-fired clay, of a dull reddish tint, and measures  $7\frac{1}{8}$  ins. in height,  $27\frac{1}{2}$  in circumference; and the mouth,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  diameter in the open, and  $7\frac{1}{4}$  to the edge of the brim. The body, just above its greatest swell, is decorated with a band of four incised lines; and the brim shelves in, like that of the *doliolum* of red ware found at Headington, near Oxford, and engraved in our *Journal* (vi, p. 64, fig. 2). These shelving brims indicate that they were designed to receive *opercula* in the manner shown in the black-

<sup>1</sup> For an account of Kent pottery, see *Journal*, ii, p. 134; and for that of Essex, xxxiii, p. 468.

ware *doliolum*, with its lid, found at Old Ford in Middlesex, given in our *Journal* (iv, p. 393, fig. 3). Another feature to mention in the specimen now described is its slightly convex base, a peculiarity observable in Roman vessels of the fourth century.

I have a good portion of a black-ware *doliolum*, full  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ins. high, which was exhumed in the Steelyard, Upper Thames Street, in Nov. 1864, which has a convex base, which is also seen in the pitcher-shaped vessel found on the site of St. Michael's, Crooked Lane, April 1831, described in the *Archæologia* (vol. xxiv, p. 200, Pl. 44), and in our *Journal* (xxiv, p. 394), which was formerly in the Kempe Collection, and now in my own museum.



Doliolum, found in digging for the Foundation of the New Post-Office, St. Martin's-le-Grand, London, 1824.

A *doliolum* closely resembling the one from St. Martin's-le-Grand was discovered on the site of the Royal Exchange in 1841, and is now in the Guildhall Museum. It measures 6 ins. in height, and  $6\frac{3}{4}$  ins. across the outer edge of the rim. It is described in the *Catalogue of the Antiquities found in the Excavations at the New Royal Exchange* (p. 6, No. 15).<sup>1</sup>

Besides the *doliola* already referred to in our *Journal*,

<sup>1</sup> Though this *Catalogue* bears the name of William Tite as its author, it was really written by the late Richard Thomson, of the London Institution. It abounds with errors. To take but one glaring instance,—all the Upchurch pottery is called "Gaulish".



a few others may be mentioned. In vol. iii, p. 250, are delineated two fine specimens which were found near Billericay, Essex; and in the same vol. (p. 331) are two more, which were exhumed near St. Alban's Abbey Church; and another *doliolum*, from Stone, near Aylesbury, in Buckinghamshire, is engraved in vol. xx, p. 278.

Touching the material of *doliola*, it may be noted that the overwhelming majority are of different shades of black-ware produced in smother-kilns, and that those of red, reddish-brown, and gray paste are but seldom met with; and though most of the *doliola* were designed to receive *opercula*, but few of these are discovered, and, when found, are generally in a fragmentary state.

There are probably few collections of Roman pottery that cannot boast of more or less perfect examples of *doliola*, but they are so mixed up and confounded with their more graceful and slender companion, the *olla*, that for the sake of correct nomenclature it is most desirable to draw a line of demarcation between the two vessels. Generally speaking, the *doliola* are wider than they are high; the *ollæ*, higher than they are wide. Crude and brief as these observations are, they may yet aid the inquirer how to distinguish the *doliolum* from the *dolium*, and the former again from the oft-recurring *olla*.





## NOTES ON WINCHESTER HOUSE, SOUTHWARK.

BY G. PATRICK, ESQ., A.R.I.B.A., HON. SEC.

(*Read 6th Nov. 1895.*)



ABOUT the middle of September last, when away from town, I received a letter from a gentleman, a member of a business firm in Southwark, drawing my attention to the demolition of certain houses in Stoney Street, Southwark, which resulted in the discovery of some ancient masonry, etc., supposed to have formed a part of old Winchester House, the old-time residence of the Bishops of that diocese. Unfortunately, being away from town, I was unable to visit these remains at the time; and when I did go the ground was nearly all filled in. From correspondence I have held with Mr. Elliott, the gentleman in question, and from further inquiries I have made, I gather that the discoveries were more interesting than important: they consisted of some 20 feet of massive walling of chalk and flint, in one part of which was a four-centred archway, bricked up, possibly in Elizabethan times. This masonry had formed a part of the houses, which were built up with it, and underground were extensive cellars with arches and massive beams of oak. The site of these buildings lies between Clink Street and Winchester Street, facing towards Stoney Street, not far from the west end of St. Mary Overie Church; it has been cleared and levelled to increase the area of the Borough Market.

The Palace is recorded to have been originally built in 1107 by Walter Giffard, the Bishop of Winchester, upon land belonging to the Priory of Bermondsey, to which house a quit-rent appears to have been paid; as (in the

*Antiquarian Itinerary*, dated 1815) it is recorded that in 1366 a writ was addressed to the Barons of the Exchequer for the payment of £8 due for the late Bishop of Winchester's lodgings in Southwark. I do not know whether any portion of Bishop Walter Giffard's building is now extant—most likely not, for the Palace seems to have been enlarged and rebuilt, and in later times is described to have covered a large area, and to have been built round two courtyards or quadrangles. The remains which from time to time have been brought to light, and the building as represented in the old ruins, indicate a date some centuries later. It is not possible now to say to what particular portion of the old house the recently demolished walls may have belonged; but I venture to think they formed a part of the outer buildings, because the old maps and views represent the chief apartments to be nearer to and facing the river, with a terrace walk. The Palace is known to have possessed a landing-place from the river—called the Bishop of Winchester's Stairs—and some remains in Clink Street, consisting of an arch of brickwork, may indicate their position. Stow speaks of the house as being "a very fair house, well repaired, with a large wharf or landing-place."

The *Builder* of September 28th, noticing these discoveries, says that "in Robert Wilkinson's plan of 1811, Winchester House and Winchester Yard are plotted between Stoney Lane (west) and the dock and Church Street (east). A corresponding plan of 1827 seems to show that the east gable-end of the Gothic hall abutted upon the dockside." In Hollar's View of London, 1660, the hall is indicated, and some buildings to the south of it; and, in an old view dated 1560, the hall is seen with four large pointed windows; but at the eastern end a gabled building runs north and south, apparently forming the eastern side of one quadrangle. In the year 1881 some remains of the old Palace buildings were met with and demolished: they consisted of a three-light window and a four-centred depressed arch of similar date to that just pulled down in Stoney Street. These remains were above the ground, and about 75 ft. westwards and

parallel with Clink Street. In 1814 a destructive fire consumed some mills and warehouses which had been erected on the site of the Palace, and disclosed extensive and interesting remains, consisting of a massive wall and gable-end, with an unusual style of circular window (*vide* engraving in *Antiq. Cabt.*). This window, with arches and other remains of the old Palace, I believe still exist, although difficult to see, as they are built up into the walls of modern grain and other warehouses.

Attached to the Palace was a noble and spacious park, consisting of some seventy acres in extent, and adorned with fountains and statues. The present *Park Street* is a memorial of this old pleasure-ground. In Elizabethan times, however, this fine park had become very much curtailed, for, in a map of 1560, the Bull and Bear Gardens are shown situated close to Winchester House, and only a few trees remain to represent the Park. The brewery of Barclay and Perkins occupies the site of Shakespeare's Globe Theatre, and covers a part of the old Winchester Park. Some important historical events are connected with Winchester House. Here, in 1423, was held the wedding feast on the occasion of the marriage of James I, King of Scotland, with Joan, eldest daughter of John Beaufort, Earl of Somerset, and brother to Cardinal Beaufort, which marriage was celebrated at the Church of St. Mary, close by. Bishop Gardiner lived here in great state, and gathered together a famous library, which was destroyed when the Palace was sacked by the Kentish rebels under Sir Thomas Wyatt.

The last Bishop to reside here was Lancelot Andrewes, who died in the Palace in 1626, and lies buried in St. Saviour's Church.

The Parliament in 1642 ordered the Palace to be used as a prison; and here were confined Sir Kenelm Digby and Sir Francis Donnington, the former of whom used to while away the weary hours by making imitation jewels and other chemical experiments. In 1649 the Palace was sold for £4,830 8s. 6d. to one Thomas Walker, a merchant, resident at Camberwell; but it reverted to the diocese at the Restoration, and some time afterwards the house was in great part demolished, and

with what remained of the Park was let on building leases to increase the revenues of the See.

The surrounding neighbourhood in the Middle Ages was largely ecclesiastical, for grouped closed by was the London residence of the Bishop of Rochester (built on part of the land originally belonging to Winchester House, and granted in 1299 to the Priory of St. Swithin in Winchester), and which stood to the south, on the site of the present Borough Market ; also the residences of the Abbots of Waverley and Battle, the Abbot of St. Augustine, Canterbury, the Abbot of Hyde, and the Prior of Lewes, in Sussex ; which, with Winchester House itself and the famous Priory and grand Church of St. Mary Overie, now St. Saviour's, must have presented a striking picture of the architectural beauty of old Southwark to the wayfarer approaching London Bridge by the highway from Kent and Surrey.

A word or two may perhaps be allowed upon the place-names of the locality. *Stoney Street* is considered to be of Roman origin, called by the Saxons *Stane* or *Stanie Street*. It led to the ferry across the river to Dowgate Hill and on to Watling Street, and was the highway before the building of London Bridge. Church Street, of course, is named after St. Saviour's Church, which abuts upon it at the west end. Montague Close was the old cloister of the Priory Church, and takes its present name from Sir Antony Browne, Viscount Montague, who obtained possession after the dissolution of the monasteries. Clink Street is a survival of the time when a prison was established here belonging to the *liberty* of the Bishop of Winchester, according to the historian Strype : it was a prison for trespassers on the liberty of the Clink, or for brawlers on Bankside.

William Haughton, the dramatist, and John Duke, the player, both in the times of James I, were confined in the Clink, as recorded by Peter Cunningham in his *Handbook of London* ; and "living right over against the Clink on the Bankside", in the time of Queen Elizabeth, was Philip Henslowe, the master of the bears ; and later on Mr. Edward Alleyn, founder of Dulwich College, dwelt "harde by the Clinke by Banksyde neere Winchester House."



## CHESTERTON.

BY REV. T. W. DALTRY, M.A.

(Read 15th Aug. 1895.)



**T**HIS Camp is evidently Roman, from its quadrangular formation, as well as from its name. The North Vallum and Foss alone are left to us, and they are earth-works of massive construction; but there are also traces of the east and west defences: on the east the road now called Newcastle Street runs in a hollow which was clearly the course of the Foss, and down to it the ancient Vallum still slopes, on which stand Chesterton Old Hall and other houses: on the west there are very slight traces of the Vallum, which has doubtless been thrown into the Foss, and entirely obliterated it: the southern line of the Camp probably ran along the course of what is called the "Old Lane", and beyond it through a field to the western boundary: it is perhaps represented by a very slight elevation of the land along the field, and, if so, it would seem that Old Lane, like Newcastle Street, ran along the course of the Foss.

Looking at the Camp from the Apedale Road, and also at the higher elevation of the ground within, where the middle hedge and ditch now are, I have sometimes thought that the Camp was enlarged westward: or it may represent the division of the Camp by the Prætorian way, to the gate of which the strip of land that still crosses the Foss on the north side has given access. Ward, in his *History of Stoke-upon-Trent*, published in 1842, says, "Along the rampart, on the outer side of it, appears to be the way which led by a gradual ascent from the north-east corner of the station to the centre or Prætorium, over a draw-bridge."

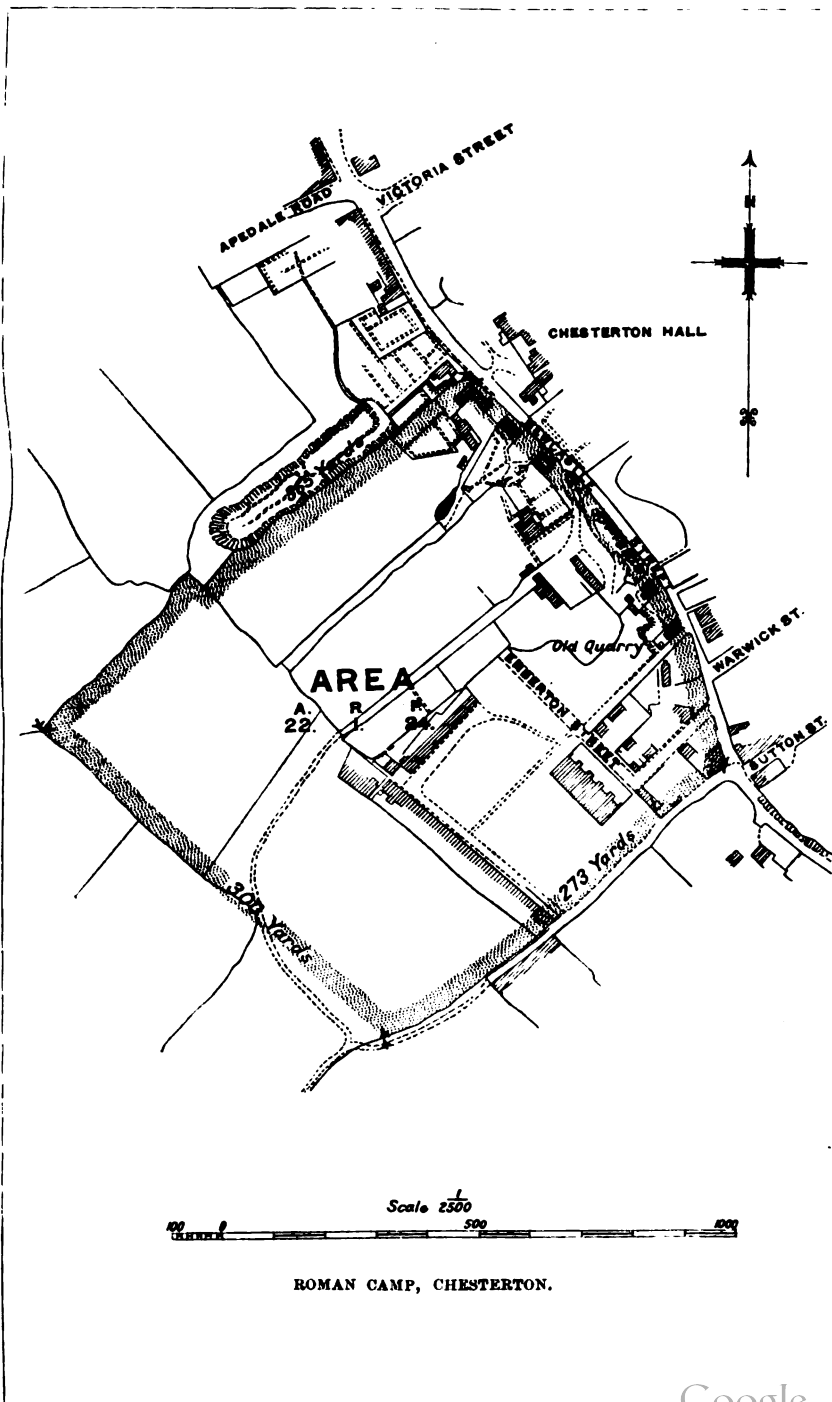
The earliest notice of this Camp is to be found in

Erdeswick's *Survey of Staffordshire*, which was begun in 1593, and continued by him to his death in 1603. He says, "A little lower down stands Chesterton, where are to be seen the ruins of a very ancient town or castle: there yet remaining some rubbish of stone and lime, whereby may be perceived that the walls have been of a marvellous thickness, and the name doth argue some town or rather castle there to have been seated; as also by the decay thereof, which may seem to have been occasioned by the building of Newcastle, whereupon, as I take it, the same took the name of *Newcastle*."

Camden finished his *Britannia* in the year 1607. His only notice of Chesterton is "Newcastle-under-Lime, so called upon the account of an older castle, which formerly stood not far from it at Chesterton-under-Lime."

Dr. Plot visited Chesterton in 1680, and writing in 1686, says in Chap. X, ¶. 67, "It seems too to be pretty certain that the *Town or Castle of Chesterton-under-Lime*, as Mr. Camden calls it, given by King *John* to the last Randall, E. of *Chester*, must be a place of note before the *Conquest*, if goeing to decay as long agoe as the reign of King *Hen.* 3rd, when the Earl of Lancaster built another near by in the midst of a great pool, which he call'd the *New-castle*, that gave original (no doubt) to the *Towne* of that *Name* close by it: whereof yet there is now almost as little remaining as of the *Walls* of *Chesterton*, which were so firmly built, that as Mr. *Camden* and Mr. *Erdeswick* both owne, there remain'd so much of the rubbish of them in their days, that it might be perceived thereby, that they were of a marvellous thickness: but all was gone before I came there, nothing now being to be seen but some faint footsteps of them, in the place where the *mark* is set in the *Map*."

Ward, in his *History of Stoke-upon-Trent*, gives the measure of the northern wall and ditch as about 370 yards, the ditch being at least 20 yards wide: the east side he makes to be 300 yards long, and the whole station, on these measurements, formed a parallelogram of about 370 by 300 yards, enclosing upwards of 20 acres of ground. The Ordnance Survey gives the length of the North Valium as 365 yards.







It is not a little singular that, so far as is known, no Roman or indeed other relics of early date have ever been found in the camp. On July 24th, and again on the 7th inst., Mr. W. H. Dutton had two men digging trenches for the greater part of each day. Some twenty holes were made chiefly on the north and east sides, in every case going down to solid ground: one trial was made on what is thought to be the line of the Western Vallum, and a hole eight feet deep was sunk on the highest part of the Camp. The only result was that some flat red sandstones, some of them of considerable size, were dug up in the garden of the Old Hall; there were some pieces of mortar, and two of the stones were still united by mortar, but there were no foundations of wall; it is said that some ten years ago the stones were dug up on the chance of there being money hidden under them, and that when the garden was straightened, the stones were thrown in on the top of a wall; but as I have said, we could not find any wall at all, and Mr. Lynam does not think the mortar was Roman mortar. There are some stones in the neighbouring wall and at the bottom of the stables adjoining, which perhaps show marks of Roman tooling; at any rate, the tool marks are those of a pick and not of a chisel, and they are at an angle to the squaring of the stones. It is also said that, twenty-four years ago, an Irishman, digging a drain at the north-east angle, found some large stones, and left them in the ground; but the same Irishman digging on the spot on Wednesday in last week failed to find them. It is, however, stated that the ground has been disturbed at that point since.

It would seem, then, that Chesterton Camp was never occupied for any length of time; there never could have been buildings on it, as at Uriconium in the neighbouring county of Salop.

But what was the Roman name of this Camp? This, like the existence of the walls, is a mystery, which probably will never be solved. It has been thought to have been the Mediolanum of Antoninus' Tenth Itinerary, and perhaps also of the Second, supposing the two Mediolanums were one and the same place; but this

is uncertain. The Tenth Iter goes from Clanoventum to Mediolanum, and the three last stations are Mancunium, i.e., Manchester; Condate, m.p. xviii; Mediolanum, m.p. xix; so that Mediolanum is 37 miles from Mancunium, which is about the distance of Chesterton from Manchester, although, supposing Condate to be Kinder-ton by Middlewich, the intervening distances are not correct. I will only say now, that if Chesterton be not Mediolanum, it follows that its Roman name is entirely lost, and also that there is no other Camp left to us to which the name of Mediolanum will apply.

One word as to certain place-names in the neighbourhood of Chesterton. We have,  $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles to the north, a small village called Red Street, which is distinctly visible from the Camp. This Red Street is evidently the Roman Road that went northwards by Windy Harbour and the village of Talk, and probably on to Condate and Mancunium. To the south-west, about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles from Chesterton, there is a short length of Roman road called Pepper Street, which now terminates at its junction with the Newcastle and Nantwich road, close to what was Keele Toll Gate. Originally it must have gone straight on. About half a mile further there are two farmhouses, called respectively Honeywall and the Highway, and these names seem to indicate the proximity of a Roman road; and a little further on we have two farmhouses close together, which are called Stonylow, and this may perhaps be another indication of the same road. Then, still in a straight line, the pavement of an ancient road has been found beneath the soil in a field on Nethersethay Farm, not far from the London and North-Western Railway, about  $1\frac{1}{4}$  miles south of Madeley Station. According to Mr. Watkin, in his *Roman Cheshire*, another road came from Condate or Kinderton to a little south of Betley, and this must have continued by or near to another Windy Harbour, half a mile to the north of Madeley Village, and to have joined the above-mentioned road from Chesterton somewhere about the spot where the ancient pavement was disturbed by the plough. The united roads must have led to Bury Walls near Hawkstone, which is said to

have been the Rutunium of the Second Iter, and thence to Uriconium.

About midway between these two lines, about three miles from Chesterton, and one and a half miles north of Madeley, in a field near to the colliery at Leycett, two earthen jars filled with Roman copper coins were ploughed up in the year 1817. The jars were broken, and I have seen one or two fragments. The coins were about two thousand in number, and were chiefly of the reigns of Constantine the Great, and his son Crispus. Mr. Ward says there were also "many coins of Licinius and of the associate Emperors Diocletian and Maximian, and some of the usurpers Posthumus, Tetricus and Victorinus."

And once more, in the parish of Madeley, not more than a quarter of a mile from where these coins were upturned, there is on high ground a small cluster of houses, which still bears the Latin name of Agger Hill.

Lastly, I would ask you before leaving, to observe the situation of the Camp, how it dominates the surrounding lands; for although there are higher hills to the north and west, and others to the east, yet it stands perfectly clear of them, and no hostile force could well approach without being observed at a considerable distance.

For the plan, which is taken from the Ordnance Map, I am indebted to Mr. C. Lynam, F.S.A., of Stoke-upon-Trent.





## RED CASTLE, SHROPSHIRE.

BY WILLIAM PHILLIPS, ESQ., F.L.S.

(Read 15 Aug. 1895.)



THE manor of Weston, in which the ruins of Red Castle stand, was held in Saxon times by Edric Sylvaticus, and after the Conquest by Ranulph Peverel under Earl Roger of Shrewsbury. In 1169 it had become an escheat in the hands of Henry II, who conferred it on Guy le Strange, Sheriff of Shropshire in 1175.

Passing over its vicissitudes of ownership during the next half century, we find Weston in the possession of Henry de Audley, a Staffordshire man, who, by his great capacity, had won the confidence of Ranulph, the powerful Earl of Chester, under whom he had ably executed the duties pertaining to the office of Sheriff of Shropshire and Staffordshire during the first four years of Henry III. In the fourth year of that reign, Henry de Audley appears as Sheriff himself, as he does again from 1228 to 1232. The royal charter confirming him in the possession of Weston is dated May, 1227, and mentions Radcliff specifically. In the month of August following, he obtained a patent empowering him to build the castle of Radcliff. Eyton thinks that the word in the patent translated "build," being *firmare*, may mean to fortify a pre-existent mansion, which is in no way improbable.

In the same year that Henry de Audley obtained possession of the manor (1227), the two counties of Stafford and Salop were committed to him as Sheriff, and John Bonet and Thomas Mauduit are commanded to deliver to him the Castle of Salop, and Bruges (*i. e.*, Bridgnorth) respectively, the king being then at Moreton.

The precarious hold of Henry on the Marches of Wales rendered it a matter of prudence to place his loyal Sheriff in a strong position to resist the fickle Llewelyn, Prince of Wales, in any attempt to cross the border.

From this date Red Castle became the Shropshire stronghold of the Audleys, the manor of four-and-a-half hides being exempt from *stretward* and *motfee*, and from doing suit to either county or hundred. The possessor for the time being assized beer in his liberty, imprisoned persons taken within his warren, and accepted fees for his *advowry*—a kind of protection to those who became its purchasers.<sup>1</sup>

Hugh de Audley is the next of this family who occurs as Sheriff of Shropshire, which office he held in 1261.

According to the inquest at William de Audley's death, 1283, the castle was in good condition ; but no separate value was assigned to it because it was then insufficiently garrisoned.

In 1285 a tenure roll states that Nicholas de Audley held court twice yearly, and possessed that little contrivance for disposing of his disobedient subjects—a gallows. In a field close to the village of Weston there exists at the present time a high mound, which has been surrounded by a moat, known by the name of the Kill-yards, which some have supposed to have been the place where the gallows was erected.

By the end of the thirteenth century Red Castle had become of so little value that, at the death of Thomas de Audley in 1308, the deceased being a minor, and the castle in the keeping of the king (Edward II), it was valued at half a mark, and a dove-cot which it contained was set down at the same value ; but possibly this was its value to the crown, and not to its owner.

One more fact, taken from Owen and Blakeway's *History of Shrewsbury*,<sup>2</sup> deserves mention in connection with this castle: "On the 23 of September, 1459, was fought the battle of Bloor-heath, on the edge of Staffordshire, near Drayton. The Duke of York had arrived at Ludlow in the preceding month, and

<sup>1</sup> Eyton's *Antiq. Shrop.*, ix, 344.

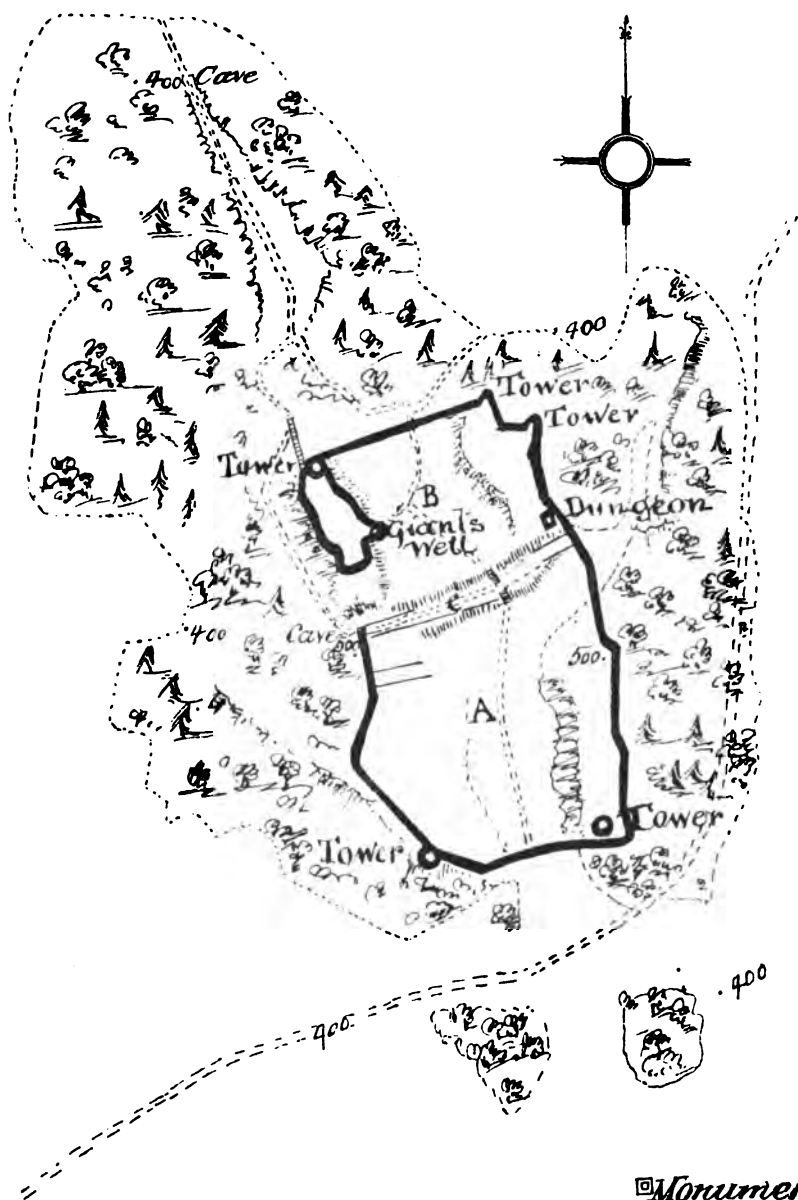
<sup>2</sup> Vol. i, p. 227.

Richard Nevile, Earl of Salisbury, was now on his march from the north to join him there. Hereupon, the veteran royalist, James Touchet lord Audley, whose fortress of Red-castle lay near the earl's line of march, advanced, with an army of ten thousand men, to oppose him; but was defeated with great loss. The Lancastrian leader himself fell by the hand of Roger Kynaston, esqr., of Hordley, who afterwards received the honour of knighthood for his gallant exploits in the service of the house of York; and his descendants have ever since added the arms of Audley to their own, in token of this particular achievement of their ancestors."

In the year 1497, James Lord Audley was beheaded for rebellion, and his possessions were confiscated; but his son John was restored to the title (4 Henry VIII), and had restitution of his father's lands in the twenty-fifth year of the same reign. After this we hear little of the family in connection with Red Castle; and when Leland visited it he dismissed it in his *Itinerary* in a few words: "Redde Castel by Whitchurch [a late the] Lord Audeles. VIII. Myles plaine [North] from Shrewsbiri, now all ruinus. It hath bene strong and hath decayid many a Day." In Camden's time nothing remained of the Red Castle "but decayed walls".

*Site and Ruins of Red Castle.*—Of the castle itself, so few remains are to be seen that we can form but a very imperfect notion of its original character. The site is in the entrance of a narrow glen between red sandstone rocks, and in outline is irregularly oblong, 500 ft. from north to south, and 300 ft. from east to west. Entering it from the south, we cross the base of a strong wall running from one cliff to the other, which has been strengthened by a foss, and defended by flanking towers on the top of the rocks right and left. A second transverse foss cut through the rock, 300 ft. from the entrance, encloses the outer or base court, in which there are no remains of masonry to be seen.

Passing over the second ditch, we enter the inner court, protected on the north by a transverse wall 200 ft. from the second foss, the ends of the wall abutting against the rocks on either side of the glen; on the left-



HAWKESTONE—THE RED CASTLE (IN RUINS).

A. Outer Court. B. Inner Court. C. Deep Ditch. The only existing tower is that marked Giant's Well.





hand side of this court is the most striking portion of the ruins, consisting of a lofty circular tower, or keep, cut for about 40 ft. out of the solid rock, and continued upwards with masonry of different periods to a height of over 100 ft. from its base. Immediately under this tower, and coinciding with its interior, is a circular well 10 ft. in diameter and 105 ft. deep, hewn out of the solid rock. This is known by the name of the Giant's Well, and said to have no water in it; hence the popular notion that it was constructed for a dungeon. It is probable that the depth to which the water rose has been filled up by the fallen floors of the tower, and by the constant practice of visitors throwing stones into it. Many tears have been shed by sensitive lady-visitors when told that noble knights were once confined in this terrible prison as a punishment; but for the future such tears may be restrained, as it is perfectly inconceivable that it could have been excavated, at such an enormous expense of labour as it must have required, for such a purpose. The top of the rock, against which the tower stands, was formerly enclosed by a wall running round the edge of its precipitous sides 102 yards in circumference; and within the inclosure are the foundations of two cells, lying parallel to each other, 20 ft. long and 7 ft. wide, the purpose of which is unknown. Defensive works can be traced along the top of several of the rocks that bound the enclosure, more especially two towers which stood near the north-east angle, and one on the north-west angle; but of the buildings suitable to the accommodation of a powerful baron and his body of retainers, there is not a trace to be discovered.





## SAINT CHAD

### AND THE

## CONVERSION OF THE MIDLANDS.

BY REV. W. S. LACH-SZYRMA, VICAR OF BARKINGSIDE.

(Read 13 Aug. 1895.)



THE memory of St. Chad, of Lichfield, is connected with a subject of the deepest interest, *i.e.*, the history of the conversion of England to Christianity, and the introduction into this land of what, even speaking from a purely secular standpoint, has had immense influence in the welding and formation of our national life.

How was England converted to Christianity, and how was the paganism of the Ancient Britons and Saxons overcome? The answer is far more complex than the school-books of our childhood led us to suppose, with the pretty story of St. Gregory and the slave-boys in Rome, and the learned puns, kindly meant and characteristic of the age of Gregory; and the journey of Augustine to Ebbsfleet, and his reception by Ethelbert, King of Kent. All this, quoted from Bede and other writers, was very simple, but it only tells a part, and not a very large part, of the story; just the part where Italy comes into contact with Britain. Kent was one only of the Saxon kingdoms of the Octarchy, and the life of Augustine was but a small portion of the struggle which probably for some six centuries raged over South Britain between Christianity and paganism.

That paganism itself, be it remembered, was of two forms—(1), the paganism of the Britons, which was generally supposed to have been mainly Druidism, though probably in the towns of Roman Britain the *cultus* of the

gods of Italy may have also prevailed. As to the actual religion of Ancient Britain, we are not so sure, as people were some fifty years ago. Folk-lore and archæology have thrown a little light on the subject; but unfortunately that light does not quite tally with the evidence of the Roman classics. Cornish tradition and folk-tales would imply a sort of Nature-worship,—of great stones or cairns, and of the heavenly bodies, and perhaps fire: rites of choral dances and floral fêtes, with sounding of horns; and a belief in transmigration of souls, and also in fairies and giants not unlike the Eastern genii. Perhaps the more complete Druidical system belonged to tribes nearer France.

It was this Druidism and Nature-worship, with the divers rites which the Roman legionaries and their followers brought with them, that the first Christian missionaries had to contend with in British paganism. Positive evidence does not show us very strong reason to believe that the resistance or persecution was as fierce as on the Continent. Possibly British paganism was divided. On the one hand, the old barbarous superstitions and myths of the half-savage Britons; on the other, the many rites of the legionaries and townspeople. In any case there is no proof of much fierce persecution. A legend, indeed, exists of the glorious martyrdom of many Christians at Lichfield, under the persecution of the Emperor Maximin; but as this would have occurred in A.D. 235, it would deprive St. Alban of the title of proto-martyr of Britain. I am rather inclined to the view that “where there is smoke there usually is a little fire”; and so, though one can hardly accept the legend fully, yet there may have been some little ground for it: at any rate, unless we regard it as a pure fiction, it adds to the local interest of Lichfield.

The period of the establishment of Christianity for the first time was probably in the age of Constantine, when Restitutus, Bishop of London, Eboracus of York, and Adelfius of a see which has been read alike as Caerleon and Lincoln, attended as Prelates at the Council of Arles in 314. If the latter be a true interpretation, and Lincoln was already a bishopric in Roman times, I need

not go over the later evidences of early British Christianity, which may apply to London and the towns, but not necessarily to the Midlands. I would only remind you that when Germanus of Auxerre came to Britain, in 430, he found (if we may accept his own statements) a Christian population, though one tainted with Pelagianism.

At this period probably the majority of the population of Britain, especially the Midland and Western counties, accepted the Christian religion. Welsh traditions quite accord with such direct evidence as we have that Britain was Christian in most of the fifth century, and that Druidism had died out, except perchance in some wild forest or heath clans, which may have retained their ancestral superstitions. As for archæological evidence, I am afraid we cannot find it in this period in the Midlands; but as I had occasion to show your Association at our Cornish Congress, and since then, there are several relics in Cornwall of the period of undoubted Christian origin; while, as some archæologists suppose, many that cannot be proved to be Christian of the Romano-British remains of the fifth century, may have been so; but the Christian symbols may originally have been omitted, or in lapse of ages been obliterated. The churches of St. Piran and St. Gwithian, the tomb of Silus in St. Just Church, and several of the ancient Cornish Celtic crosses, with many of the menhirs, belong to this period. The earlier Cornish dedications are also evidence on this matter.

In the Midlands we cannot expect such relics to exist now as are to be found in Cornwall and Devon. Granite is an enduring stone; iconoclasm also was not common in Cornwall; so the vestiges of earlier Christianity, as of prehistoric man, are more frequent there than here. Their absence, however, can be easily accounted for. Even of Saxon England there are few remains. How can we expect them of the Romano-British period?

The history of the conversion of Britain, or rather England, divides itself into two parts,—the conversion of the Ancient Britons and of Roman Britain, and the conversion of the Saxons. In Cornwall, Devon, part of

Dorset and Somerset, the Christianity of the West is continuous. The Saxons did not conquer Exeter even as heathens, but at a later period, when the men of Wessex had become already converted to Christianity. Not so in Mercia or the other parts of England. The Saxon conquerors came here as pagans from their Germanic homes. The exact nature of their heathenism is not easy to ascertain, but Norse sagas and German legends may give us some idea of this worship of Woden, Thor, Friga, etc. They swept before them the Christian Britons, who from this part probably fled into Wales, and from the south of England I think probably into Devon and Somerset, to the Cornu-British kingdom. The bitterness between Saxon and Briton was strong, and there was little chance of religious influence from the Britons affecting the Saxons. In Kent it came from the Continent, as we all know, and probably the conversion of the Kentish Saxons (or English, as some like to call them) did produce an effect on England generally.

I here would apologise for the use of the old word "Saxon" as used for our Teutonic ancestors. Professor Freeman preferred the name "English", I know, and so do some other writers; but I venture to plead that it is misleading. There is a good deal of Celtic and of Danish blood in most Englishmen. The Cornu-Briton in the West, the Cymri, the Norwegian, the Dane, the Norman (himself of mixed origin), have had something to do in forming the English nation; and it is unfair to give the Anglo-Saxons the title of Englishmen, seeing they are only a part of the mingled races that have helped to make the English people. The old-fashioned term "Saxon", or rather "Anglo-Saxon", is, I think, more fair, and less likely to mislead.

The Midland tribes of the Anglo-Saxons, then, derived their Christianity, it appears, from the preachers of Lindisfarne, or indirectly from Iona. St. Columba was the true founder of the missionary institutions that converted North and Middle England, as Augustine may be said to be of Kent, and Gaulish and Irish missionaries of the West of England. The history of St. Columba is one of the most romantic in ecclesiastical history. The quarrel

of this impetuous Irish noble about the book, the war, the decision that he is to convert as many heathens as he had slain Christian Irishmen in battle, his voyage to Iona, his settlement there, his wonderful enthusiasm, power in converting others,—all these read more like a romance of chivalry or an Arthurian idyl than a life of an eminent ecclesiastic. Even Columba's rejection of the episcopate is romantic. His power was in training disciples, and one of the chief of the Monastery daughters of Iona was in the Holy Isle of Northumbria.

The work of Christianising of the Midlands, and the final triumph over heathenism, may be said to be mainly the work of the two brothers, St. Chad, or St. Ceadda, and St. Cedd. St. Chad, of Lichfield, was educated under the great St. Aidan, at the Monastery of Lindisfarne, under the Columban rule. From Northumbria he went over to Ireland, then the special home of learning, while Western Europe was desolated by the barbarians in what is called the Dark Ages. Here he was a great friend of St. Egbert, another Saxon of the Lindisfarne school, who seems to have had some influence on him. Then returning to England, he lived with his brother Ceadda in the Abbey of Lestingay in the Yorkshire Wolds. He was consecrated Bishop by Bishop Wini of Winchester, and two British Bishops, in 666.

His brother Cedd conducted a mission among the Midland people. It is said that the terrible King Penda did not really persecute them, only saying he was angry "with those who would not obey their god in whom they believe". Cedd thence went to Essex, and was made Bishop of London. He was commemorated on January 7, and St. Chad, his brother, on March 2.

St. Chad was very active in his episcopate; but when Archbishop Theodore came on his visitation, doubts were raised as to St. Chad's consecration being valid. The subject is one hardly suited to our consideration now. Suffice it to say that Chad consented to have what rites were needed superadded, and retired meekly to Lestingay.

Jaruman of Mercia having died, Chad was appointed to the see of Mercia. He was a most active Bishop, and resided close by his church in Lichfield when not travel-

ling in his diocese. Probably to him we owe the crowning work of the conversion of Mercia, which had been so long delayed by divers causes, especially by the reign of the heathen King Penda.

St. Chad was buried at Lichfield, which is connected with his memory. Here the see, in the eighth century, was for a time raised to the position of an archbishopric in the days of King Offa.

To sum up the main points of our history as bearing on the conversion of Britain :—

1. The conversion of England from heathenism to Christianity was not a dramatic event suddenly occurring, but a long series of events covering several centuries ; probably a period as long as that which intervened between the Wars of the Roses and our own times and the reign of Victoria.

2. The conversion of Britain had to be twice done in most parts, though not in the far West or in Wales. Britain became Christianised, and was then conquered by the Saxon pagan invaders, who were themselves ultimately converted, the Mercians being about the last.

3. The forces which achieved the work were complex, *i.e.*, the Gaulish missionaries, the Irish, the Scoto-Irish, the followers of Columba, and the Italians of Augustine.

4. The crowning of the work is connected with the brothers Cedda and Chad in the Midlands.

The whole subject is one of deep interest, though the light thrown on it is not as clear as we can wish. The effects are visible and palpable and important, though in part the causes and agents are still obscure.







## THE CHAPEL OF LEDE OR LEAD, IN THE PARISH OF RYTHER-CUM-OZENDYKE, YORKS.

BY C. R. B. BARRETT, ESQ., M.A.



THE manor of Lede was in feudal times a tenancy of the honor of Pontefract, and is a detached portion of the parish of Ryther. I was led to explore its little chapel while investigating the surroundings of the battlefield of Towton. It may be remembered by some of my readers that, years after the sanguinary fight at that historic spot, Richard III, when King, commenced to build an expiatory chapel near to but north of Saxton Church,—a good point in his character, though history passes it over. Towton battlefield lies between Saxton and the village from which it derives its name. Bosworth Field, in later times, was fought and lost, and the expiatory chapel remained unfinished. In these days no relics thereof are visible, though the site is remembered by the place-name, Chapel Garth.

It was in quest of possible monuments to those slain at Towton that I turned my way to Lede Chapel. Of its exterior there is not much to be said, and the illustration will, I think, sufficiently show its present appearance. Lede Chapel stands unsurrounded by any wall, and in the middle of a field. About 40 yards west of the Chapel are the ruined remains of Lede Hall; but these, though I carefully explored them, presented nothing worthy of note.<sup>1</sup> At the east end of the Chapel indica-

<sup>1</sup> A new hall or farmhouse stands to the north of the old one. Relics of the old stone manor-house are visible, to which a more modern

tions in the turf point to foundations of some kind. These may possibly belong to a chancel now destroyed, though the present outer eastern wall (unless wonderfully rebuilt at the restoration in 1784) shows no sign of having been an addition.

The total length of the tiny Chapel is about 18 ft. Rude oak benches, mostly out of the perpendicular, line its aisles. An ancient and misshapen font stands at the west end, beneath the west window, and close by it is a small and very dilapidated parish chest. The north side of the east end is occupied by a rickety pulpit and reading-desk; the south, by the Squire's pew; and the intervening space contains a small, mean table, to do



Lede Chapel.

duty for an altar. This is enclosed by a lath swing-gate which does duty for a rail. All the woodwork in the building is painted—or was once painted—white, with the exception of two extremely handsome and well-carved gilt wooden bosses, relics of the ancient roof, which now hang on either wall.

On a first glance at the interior, the casual visitor would turn away probably disappointed, but investigation showed me that there were matters of interest in Lede Chapel which repaid me for my walk.

house (now in ruins) has been built on. Of the "fair manor place of tyMBER", mentioned by Leland, nothing remains.

1st. At the door is the fragment of a body-stone bearing, incised on its face, the base of a cross and a Calvary. I can, I think, give a fair suggestion as to the person to whom this was erected, and will do so later. Hunting about the pulpit and beneath it, I found, used as one of its steps, an interesting fragment of a body-stone bearing an incised cross, with chalice, etc.; a fragment of another tomb decidedly, for the two portions (*i.e.*, this and that of the door) will not fit together. In front of the swing-gate before mentioned lie in a row four rude heraldic stones, while beneath the swing-gate, and forming the greater part of the pavement of the sanctuary (save the mark!), I found the stone altar-slab which in pre-Reformation times topped the Chapel-altar. Of this altar-stone there can be no question, for its five consecration crosses are plainly visible. This was, I take it, a most interesting discovery; for as far as I can ascertain the slab has hitherto been undescribed.

I will now pass to a more detailed description of the four body stones.

No. 1 has at its head the arms of Tyas (Teutonicus or Tiesci), viz., ..... a fess, in chief three mallets sinisterways in bend. I for a purpose omit the tinctures.

No. 2 shows the same coat, and the inscription (Lombardic),—

“Nobilis : miles : Balduinus Teutonicus”, etc.

No. 3 has a plain shield, but bears the legend,—

“Nobilis Domine Margoria cujus anime propicietur Deus. Amen.”

No. 4 shows the shield with this variation, that the mallets are dexterways in bend. This has an inscription,

“✠ Priez : pur : lalme Franconis Tiesci . ici gist Chevaler.”

Now, on my return to London, I proceeded to endeavour to identify the coat-armour, and though I find it perfectly possible to identify the persons buried as members of the family of Tyas (formerly Le Tyeys, Teutonicus or Tiesci), I have been utterly unable to get any



LEDE CHAPEL INTERIOR W



blazon exactly like the carved shields on the tombs. Burke gives Tyas (Jeulonici, co. York ; he meant Teutonici) as *argent*, a fess between (*sic*) three hammers, each in bend, sinisterways, *sa*. Also, *gules*, a fess between three hammers, each in bend (dexterways, as no contrary direction is given) *argent*. (See fig. B.)

Some herald (and Burke duly gives the blazon) mistook mallets, firstly for mullets (five-pointed stars), and secondly for martlets (birds); hence we have the two other blazons. The blazon which is most nearly correct is derived from a Roll about 1262-92 (Harl. MS. 6137), where it is given as the coat of Franc Le Tyeys. Compare with slab 4 of "Franconis Tiesci", viz., *argent*, a fess *gules*, in chief, three mallets of the last. This is also in the Roll of the Society of Antiquaries (fifteenth-century copy of 1300 Roll).

I will now state a few particulars about the Tyas family; scanty, I fear, but not devoid of interest. My information is derived purely from documents still in existence.

From the *Compotus* of Bolton I find that, in 1316, Baldwyn Tyas was Constable of Skipton Castle. It may be remembered that the office of porter of Skipton was hereditary in the Ferrant family. Probably No. 2 is the tomb of this worthy old warrior and official. In a charter of John de Lacy, Earl of Lincoln, *circa* 1220, we have as witnesses, Ebrardo Teutonico (? Guerardo Gerard), and Baldwino Theuton. Baldwin appears to have been a family name. In 1235, or thereabouts, the same pair appear as witnesses to another charter of John, Earl of Lincoln. This charter concerned the church of Eccles. The names in this document are "Guerardo et Baldewyno Theutonicis". Two years later Baldwyn witnesses a grant to the monks of Stanlawe of the mediety of the church of Blackburn, which Adam, the son of Henry, held with the chapel of Walton and their appurtenances. Similar Tyas signatures are attached to other deeds of a like kind.

In the reign of John lived Sir Baldwyn Teutonicus or De Tyas, who granted to Sir Robert de Holland, in free marriage with Johan his daughter, all his lands in Roch-

dale, viz., in Butterworth, Cleggs, and some other places. Johan survived her husband, and married as her second husband Sir John de Byron.

In 1285, or thereabouts, Mauger le Vavasur, a younger brother of Sir William le Vavasur of Hazlewood, received from Sir John Hazlewood, his father, a toft with a croft and an oxgang of land, for the term of his life, in the town and territory of Cockesford. The deed is undated, but it was witnessed by Sir William, the elder brother, and Sir Francis Tyas and others.

Now the Vavasours are still at Hazlewood, a mansion about three miles from Lead Hall and Chapel. Cockesford yet belongs to their estates, and is distant about three miles from Lead. It was noted as being a *ford* at the time of the battle of Towton. The Cock River or Beck runs within 150 yards of Lead Chapel.

Sir Francis Tyas, I believe, had no male issue; but he had a daughter, Emeline, who married Adam Scargill of Thorpe, and had issue one Warine. Sir Francis Tyas is styled "lord of the manor of Lede", but he was the last of that name there.

In 1381 Thomas, son and heir of Sir William Scargill, Knight, paid 8s. 8d. relief to the honour of Pontefract for the twelfth part of a knight's fee in Bolton, in Bradford Dale. This Thomas is probably the one who is known to have been settled at Lede, on the manor once belonging to Sir Francis Tyas.

By her will (proved Oct. 17, in the year of her death, 1421), Johanna Scargill, wife of Thomas Scargill, desired that her body should be buried in the choir of the Chapel of the Blessed Mary de Lede.

The arms of the Scargills of Thorpe Stapleton were, *ermine*, a saltier *gules*, but sometimes the saltier was engrailed.

In 1553, on March 1, there remained a charge of £10 in annuities, and £68 in pensions, on the Priory of Swyne. Among the names of the sixteen pensioners occurs that of Elizabeth Tyas, who was in receipt of £2. After the spoliation, Swyne Convent was sold to Sir Richard Gresham, Kt. As late as 1621 a distant connection (for the direct line had died out), one Thomas Tyas, was sell-

ing an acre and a half of land in Yorkshire. The name is still to be met with in some of the Yorkshire towns, notably Doncaster.

It may be mere conjecture on my part, but I incline to think that the broken slab at the door of the Chapel is the tomb of the Johanna Scargill that I have mentioned. In one or two old books I have seen *five tombs* named as existing in Lede. There are certainly only four now. But how about the choir of the Chapel? Can this merely be a figure of speech to express "in front of the high altar"? I think it must be. Granted that in the turf outside there are evidences of foundations, there do not appear to be any traces of new work in the east wall, as I have already mentioned. Also, behind the worm-eaten panelling on the south side of the present "Squire's" pew is a hollow suspiciously like a piscina.

The family of Tyas, Teutonicus, Tiesci, or Tyeys, must not, however, be confounded with the Tyes (Barons).

The arms of the Tyes are usually given as, *argent*, a chevron *gules*, though one variation gives a coat of which I have no blazon, viz., on a fess, between two chevronels, three mullets. It is that of Walter de Teye, lord of Stengrave (*vide* letter of Barons to Pope Boniface VIII, 1301, regarding the Scotch succession).

The baronies of Tyes—for there were two—have but a brief history. In 1299 a Henry de Tyes held lands in Oxfordshire. He died in 1308, having been summoned as a Baron to Parliament from 1296 (Feb. 6) to 1307 (Aug. 26). He was succeeded by his son, also Henry, who was summoned to Parliament from 1313 (Jan. 8) to 1321 (May 15). Henry, second Baron, joined Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, was taken prisoner at Borough Bridge, and executed in London. He was succeeded by his sister Alice, who married Warine d'Isle.

Walter de Tyes, in the case of the second barony, was summoned by writ on the same date as Henry. He owned lands in York and other counties, and served in the Scottish wars. In the eleventh year of Edward II he was Joint-Governor of York with Robert de Hastings. Walter Lord Tyes married Isabel, daughter of John de Stengrave, and widow of Simon Patshull. Dying child-



less, his niece Margaret, the daughter of his brother Roger, succeeded him, and the barony became extinct.

To this family belonged the Sir Henry Tyeis who received a sumptuous present of plate from King Edward II on Christmas Day, in the fourteenth year of his reign, when the festival was kept at Westminster.

Touching this now extinct family of Tyes (Barons), Bossewell, in his *Workes of Armorie*, instances, among five other coats "partaking of the canton", that of Tyas; but it is the Tyes coat of the baronial family, not that of Lede Hall, which is so mentioned.

This little chapel, and the fragments of family history which gather around the four slabs in its floor, are perhaps hardly worthy subjects for a paper; at least, some may think so. To me, however, the little known in antiquity has ever a charm; and I love to preserve, as far as in me lies, the memories of out-of-the-way spots. Of the Tyas family of Lede who can now say anything? None of them seem to have done anything of note. Quietly they appear to have lived, for three or four generations, on their little manor,—a rather clerkly race, it would seem, quite in early times. Now and again—nay, quite frequently—earning the honour of knighthood; though why, or on what occasions, none can now discover. And in their tiny little chapel their gravestones are preserved to us. How comparatively few small county families can show a similar record!

Of the Scargills, a far better-known Yorkshire family, the threads connecting them with Lede are not of remarkable interest. We find them paying fines during the reign of Henry VI for lands in Lede, Saxton, Lede Woodhouse, and later on other fines. In this latter case the name of a William, son of Roger de Lede, occurs; but who he was, or who his father was, is not to be easily explained. A John Scargill died in 1472, and was buried at Leeds, in the St. Trinity's choir of St. Peter's Church. The Scargills had in 1448-9 charged Lede with a share of sixteen marks, paid to support a charity in the parish church of Whitkirk.

A curious indenture between "William Scargill the Elder, Esquyer", and Thomas Ka, "gentylman", referring

to the sale of some land, is extant, which bears date Feb. 16, "in the year of the regne of Kynge Edward forth [the] second (1462)."

The male line direct of the Scargills of Lede ended in Sir Robert, Kt., who left two daughters and coheirs, Margaret and Mary. They married Sir John Gascoigne of Cardington, in Bedfordshire, Kt., and Sir Marmaduke Tonstall of Brantingham, respectively. Good old Leland notes in his *Itinerary*,—"Leade, an hamelet wher Skargil had a fair manor place of tymber. Skargil, a late knight, left 2 doughttters to his heires, whereof Tunstalle wedded one, and Gascoyne of Bedefordeshire the other." Sir Robert and Dame Jane Scargill lie buried beneath an alabaster tomb in the parish church of Whitkirk, "within the chantry quire, besides her late husband", etc. The inscription, now defaced, ran—

"Orate pro a'ia Rob' Scargyll militis et D'ne Joh'e uxor' suae et antecessorum n'rum fundatorum hujus cantarie quor' aiar' pp. Deus."

But with Lede Chapel the Tyas family will be remembered: witness their tombs. Of the Scargills later, no inscription now remains, though one at least was buried there. And in this spot, twice a year only, is service held, amid the mouldering wooden benches and quaint surroundings which I have mentioned. It is a relic—perhaps a sad one—still a relic, the description of which is not entirely without interest.





## Proceedings of the Association.

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WEDNESDAY, 1 APRIL 1896.

CHAS. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

LADY PAGET, 6 Scroope Terrace, Cambridge, was duly elected a Member of the Association.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :—

*To the Society*, for "The Scientific Proceedings of the Royal Dublin Society", vol. viii, Parts 3, 4, 1894 ; and "The Scientific Transactions", vol. v, Series 2.

„ „ for "Transactions of the Glasgow Archæological Society", New Series, vol. ii, Part IV.

„ „ for "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland", 1894-1895.

„ „ for "Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects", vol. iii, 3rd Series.

The paper which was announced to be read this evening was postponed to a future meeting.

WEDNESDAY, 15 APRIL 1896.

CHAS. H. COMPTON, ESQ., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Dr. Winstone exhibited an early seal-matrix, thirteenth century, found at Eynsforth, on the river Darent. It bears a flower, and the legend, s' HVG' FIL' HAM' LENTCAK. He also exhibited a medal commemorative of the Battle of the Hogue in 1692, and a pistol-shaped match-striker and candlestick combined, made by Cartmel at Doncaster.

Mr. C. Davis exhibited a leaden merchant's mark used for sealing goods, sixteenth century.

Mr. Oliver exhibited an oaken carving representing a female saint holding a chalice and sword, probably from a Dutch church.

Mr. G. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited two fine oval plaques of Battersea enamel: one, a card-scene, with figures of three children; the other, a soldier's farewell. It was thought that each was a copy from well-known paintings of celebrated artists.

Mr. W. Nichols exhibited a brown glazed-ware flask made in shape of a house with chimney, etc., found at Bromley, Kent, at a considerable depth below the surface of the ground, in recent excavations. Seventeenth century.

Mr. G. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper by Lady Paget, entitled "Notes on some Ancient Stone Forts in Carnarvonshire", and exhibited the illustrations which accompanied it. The paper will be found printed above, at pp. 97-111.

## ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING.

6 MAY, 1896.

REV. S. M. MAYHEW, M.A., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The Chairman opened the ballot, and appointed scrutators. :

Dr. W. de Gray Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read the

### SECRETARIES' REPORT FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31 DEC., 1895.

"The Honorary Secretaries have the honour of laying before the Associates of the British Archæological Association, at the Annual Meeting held this day, the customary Report of the Secretaries on the state of the Association during the year 1895-6.

"1. During the past year a considerable number of books have been presented to the Library. The action of the Library Sub-Committee will determine, or has determined, the future of this property of the Association.

"2. Thirty-four of the more important papers which were read at the recent Congress held at MANCHESTER, and during progress of the session held in London, have been printed in the *Journal* for 1895, which is illustrated with forty-nine plates and woodcuts; some of which have been wholly, or in part, contributed to the Association by the liberality of friends and Associates, to whom grateful recognition is due in this behalf.

**BALANCE SHEET FOR THE YEAR ENDING THE 31<sup>ST</sup> DECEMBER 1895.**

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Balance at Bank of England, 1 Jan. 1895	90	5	1			
Post Office Savings Bank	51	18	6			
				142	3	7
Interest from P. O. Savings Bank				1	3	5
Annual subscriptions	198	9	0			
Entrance fees	5	5	0			
				208	14	0
Life composition				15	15	0
Sale of publications				9	11	7
Proceeds of Stoke Congress				26	15	1
				389	2	8
Printing account unpaid	167	7	11			
Balance at Bank of England, 31 Dec. 1895	£126	17	3			
Less outstanding cheques	21	10	0			
	105	7	3			
Post Office Savings Bank	53	1	11			
	158	9	2			
Balance against the Association				8	18	9
				£408	1	5

EXPENDITURE.			
	£	s.	d.
By outstanding liabilities for 1894 paid off . . . . .	91	6	9
Printing and publishing <i>Journal</i> . . . . .	182	6	2
Illustrations to ditto . . . . .	50	8	10
A. Wyon, Esq., con- tribution . . . . .	12	10	0
Rev. J. Cave-Browne, ditto . . . . .	3	0	0
	34	18	10
Miscellaneous printing and advertising . . . . .	217	5	0
Delivery of Journals . . . . .	22	3	8
Rent and salaries . . . . .	12	18	9
Stationery, postage, and incidentals . . . . .	54	13	0
	9	14	8

**Audited and found correct, 15 April 1896.**

CHAS. J. WILLIAMS.  
CECIL T. DAVIS.

"3. The Honorary Secretaries are glad to say they have in hand a fair amount of papers which relate to the Stoke-on-Trent Congress of 1895, and other papers read in London, which have been accepted for publication and illustration in the *Journal*, as circumstances will permit. Nevertheless, they desire it should become generally known that authors should transmit their papers and drawings to the Editor as soon as convenient after being laid before the Association, in view of their publication in due course.

"W. DE G. BIRCH }  
"G. PATRICK } *Hon. Secs.*"

Mr. C. H. Compton proposed the alteration to Rule 2, p. iv, "Chairman of meetings", of which he had given notice. It was seconded by Mr. Nichols, and carried unanimously. The Rule now stands correct as printed in the prospectus for the current year.

Mr. S. Rayson, *Sub-Treasurer*, presented the balance-sheet, and made observations on the state of the finances of the Association, in the unavoidable absence of the *Treasurer*.

The ballot was taken with the following result:—

**President.**

**Vice-Presidents.**

*Ex officio*—THE DUKE OF NORFOLK, K.G., E.M.; THE DUKE OF SUTHERLAND, THE MARQUESS OF BUTE, K.T., LL.D.; THE MARQUESS OF RIPON, K.G.; G.C.S.I.; THE EARL OF HARDWICKE; THE EARL OF MOUNT-EDGUMBE; THE EARL NELSON; THE EARL OF NORTHBROOK, G.C.S.I.; THE EARL OF WINCHILSEA AND NOTTINGHAM; THE LORD BISHOP OF ELY; THE LORD BISHOP OF ST. DAVID'S; THE LORD BISHOP OF LLANDAFF; SIR CHARLES H. ROUSE BOUGHTON, Bart.; JAMES HEYWOOD, Esq., F.R.S., F.S.A.

COLONEL G. G. ADAMS, F.S.A.  
THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq., F.Z.S.  
CECIL BRENT, Esq., F.S.A.  
ARTHUR CATES, Esq.  
C. H. COMPTON, Esq.  
WILLIAM HENRY COPE, Esq., F.S.A.  
H. SYER CUMING, Esq., F.S.A.Scot.  
SIR JOHN EVANS, K.C.B., D.C.L., LL.D., D.Sc., F.R.S., F.S.A.  
SIR A. WOLLASTON FRANKS, K.C.B., D. Litt., F.R.S., P.S.A.

COLONEL GEORGE LAMBERT, F.S.A.  
REV. S. M. MATHEW, M.A., F.S.A.Scot., F.R.I.A.  
J. S. PHENÉ, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A., F.G.S., F.R.G.S.  
REV. W. SPARROW SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A.  
SIR ALBERT WOODS, K.C.M.G., F.S.A. (*Garter King of Arms*).  
ALLAN WYON, Esq., F.S.A., F.S.A.Scot., F.R.G.S.

**Honorary Treasurer.**

THOMAS BLASHILL, Esq.

**Sub-Treasurer.**

SAMUEL RAYSON, Esq.

**Honorary Secretaries.**

W. DE GRAY BIRCH, Esq., LL.D., F.S.A.  
 GEORGE PATRICK, Esq., A.R.I.B.A.

**Council.**

J. ROMILLY ALLEN, Esq., F.S.A., A.I.C.E.	RICHARD DUPPA LLOYD, Esq., F.R.Hist.S.
REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A.	J. T. MOULD, Esq.
A. S. FLOWER, Esq., M.A.	W. J. NICHOLS, Esq.
J. PARK HARRISON, Esq., M.A.	A. OLIVER, Esq.
RICHARD HORSFALL, Esq.	W. H. RYLANDS, Esq., F.S.A.
W. E. HUGHES, Esq.	R. E. WAY, Esq.
A. G. LANGDON, Esq.	BENJAMIN WINSTONE, Esq., M.D.

**Auditors.**

CECIL DAVIS, Esq.

C. J. WILLIAMS, Esq.

WEDNESDAY, 20TH MAY 1896.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Frederick W. Hunt, Esq., 18 Dorset Square, N.W., was duly elected a member of the Association.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

*To the Society*, for "Archæologia Cambrensis", 5th Series, No. 50, April 1896.

- " " for "Archæologia" of the Society of Antiquaries, vol. liv, Part 2 ; "Archæological Journal", vol. liii, No. 209 ; 2nd Ser., vol. iii, No. 1, March 1896.
- " " for "Transactions of the Cumberland and Westmoreland Antiquarian Society", Part I, vol. xiv.
- " " for "The Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland", Part I, vol. vi.
- " " Smithsonian Institute : J. S. Billings, S. W. Mitchell, and D. H. Bergey, on "The Composition of Expired Air and its Effects on Animal Life". Washington, 1895.
- " " "Forty-Fourth Annual Report of the Trustees of the Public Library of the City of Boston". Boston, 1896.
- " " for "Thirteenth Annual Report of the Board of Trustees of the Public Museum of the City of Milwaukee". Milwaukee, 1895.
- " " for "Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles", tome dixième, livraison ii, l'Avril 1896.

*To the Society*, for "Société des Antiquaires de la Morinie. Bulletin Historique", livr. 175, 1895; and "Le Cartulaire de Saint-Barthélemy de Béthune", St. Omer, 1895.

*To the Editor*, for "The Antiquary", No. 77, May 1896.

" " for "Bessarione: Pubblicazione periodica di Studi Orientale Siena", No. I, Anno 1. (Two copies.)

Mrs. Collier exhibited a photograph of a monument to a Roman soldier of the fourth century, recently found, about 4 ft. below the surface, at Colchester, the monument being in splendid condition.

Mr. G. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited, on behalf of Mrs. Dent, of Sudeley Castle, a very carefully executed pen-and-ink drawing of a piece of tapestry in one of the rooms of the Castle.

Mr. Cecil Davis read an interesting paper descriptive of the mutilated brass at Cirencester to John Arenyng, his wife, four sons, and three daughters, all kneeling; one of the sons being in academicals. Above are three lily-sprays. Unfortunately, the various parts of the brass have been removed from the original slab, and dispersed. The date of the brass is the beginning of the sixteenth century. It is curious as being almost the only instance of lilies shown upon the brass to a civilian.

Mr. A. Oliver remarked that it resembled, in some respects, a brass in the church of St. Olave, Hart Street, City. The paper was illustrated by some carefully executed rubbings.

WEDNESDAY, 3 JUNE 1896.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

Rev. H. J. Duckinfield Astley, M.A., was duly elected a Member of Council.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library:

*To the Society*, for "Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society", No. xxxvii, vol. ix, Pt. 1, 1896.

*To the Editor*, for "The Antiquary", No. 78, New Series, June 1896.

Mrs. Collier submitted for exhibition an interesting example of heraldic glass, formerly in the Vicarage of Ashton Keynes, Wilts, representing the arms of Anthony Dunch Hungerford, who held the manor and rectory of Ashton Keynes under the Crown. This glass was taken out of the old parlour-window of the Vicarage house in 1798.



The family of Hungerford held this manor and rectory for a period of one hundred and eighty-five years from 1452. The glass consists of the diamond-shaped panes set in heavy lead-work, one pane representing the three initials A. D. H., linked together by fifteenth-century knot-work. The other pane represents three sickles interlaced, the handles outwards, and a three-quarters moon in the centre. The colours are gold and brown. The glass is preserved in a square frame, 9 ins. by 8 ins.

Mr. Quick, Honorary Corresponding Member, exhibited a collection of eight palæolithic oval and tongue-shaped implements found in March last at Broom, in the Valley of the Axe, in the parish of Hawkchurch, near Axminster. One is  $8\frac{1}{2}$  ins. in length. They were found in a gravel-pit near Chard Junction, and are particularly curious, because no palæolithic implements have as yet been found further west in Britain.

The Rev. H. J. Dukinfield Astley, M.A., exhibited a silver snuffbox presented by King George IV to his grandfather. The box is of very elegant design, and represents a Dutch scene in the style of Teniers, in very high relief, upon the lid. From the type of tobacco-pipe one of the men is smoking, it was considered that the box belonged to the time of William and Mary.

Mr. G. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper by Miss Russell on some rock-cuttings in Northumberland, which she believed had not been previously illustrated; although the locality, the flat rocks on the Dod Law, near Wooler, is well known as one where rock-cuttings occur. The paper was illustrated by photographs of the rubbings of the rock-cuttings. It is hoped it will be printed hereafter in the *Journal*.





## Antiquarian Intelligence.

*The Life and Legend of St. Vedast.* By GERTRUDE S. SIMPSON and Rev. W. S. SIMPSON, D.D., F.S.A. (London, 1896.)—Lives of Saints have always been attractive to us all. The child is interested in the outlines of the life of an apostle, the antiquary in his researches into the lives of less noted members of the heavenly host. St. Vedast belongs to this later class of Saints, of whom comparatively little has been hitherto known, except locally; until the authors, by careful research among the archives of Arras and the by-paths of French religious literature, have gathered up a large amount of learning which has enabled them, in a very great degree, to reconstruct the life and legend of a notable Saint who played a not-unimportant part in the history of Church and State as they existed in his day.

Miracles were not uncommon at that time; hence many examples are given which may serve to interest, and perhaps perplex, the psychologist. The art representations of the Saint, the honour accorded to him in English Liturgies, and the rare dedication to him of two or three English churches, with many curious facts relating to subjects which cluster round St. Vedast, have been put on record in the work, which, as an authentic monograph on a curious historical point, leaves nothing to be desired. The life of the Saint is replete, as most Saints' lives are, with the mystical, the incomprehensible, the admirable, and the astounding. From birth to deposition his doings excite our attention and occupy our feelings, which will be deeply moved at the contents of this work, wherein are recorded with careful minuteness of detail the many scenes in which Vedast of Arras took part, and the many historical touches to which his life and fame have given brilliancy and colour.

*A Historic Table: possibly Queen Mary Stuart's Altar.*—Some years ago, in, I think, about the year 1880-81, while in Chester Cathedral, I chanced to meet a Roman Catholic priest. We entered into conversation, both then and on the way back to London, and drifted into antiquarian topics. Amongst other things, he asked me if I knew Carlisle.

On my reply in the negative, he mentioned various curious relics there and in the neighbourhood : among others, the table of which I show a sketch. Last year, being in Carlisle, I remembered this long-ago conversation, and paid a visit to the Castle to see if the table was still in existence. My informant assured me that though he had not personally examined the table, from collateral evidence he believed it to be the altar used by Mary Queen of Scots during her incarceration in the Castle ; *i.e.*, between May 18, 1568, and July 13, when she was removed to Bolton.

I was directed to seek for the following details in order to identify this table, should I ever be in the neighbourhood : five small pieces of square stone let into the top, and two longer marks not filled up. The top of the table was, I was assured, in better condition than the



supports. The priest told me that, from his personal knowledge, the five consecrated pieces of stone which had been for the period while this table was used as an altar let into the top, were subsequently returned to Rome, and were there existing, cross-marked, and now carefully preserved as relics. He likewise mentioned documents at the Vatican which bore on the return to Rome of these small sacred objects ; and, as I understood, on their use during Mary's captivity at Carlisle.

The two longer marks were, I assume, connected with the affixing of the crucifix or some other object. I found the table (which I easily identified) down in the vaults beneath the keep, covered with pots, pans, whitewash, pails, brooms and rags. After some trouble I got it clean.

Documentary evidence to support the story of the priest I have none ; nor, with the limited time at my disposal lately, have I been able to make any exhaustive research. The State Papers, whether Domestic or Foreign, give no hint. The lives of Mary and of John Lesley, Bishop of Ross (for a portion of the time in her company at Carlisle) are silent on the point. We, however, know that on Lesley's departure Mary applied for a priest (specifically named as an "English" priest) to perform the necessary religious offices for her. The reply was a refusal, coupled with the remark, "There are no priests in England." Mary was, however, permitted to walk to the Cathedral,—a small consolation this, especially when guarded by one hundred "hagbutters". "Hagbutters" were men armed with arquebuses with the stock bent down, pistol-fashion.

That this table has been an altar at some time, and used for Catholic rites, is manifest. It is possible that the five consecrated stones belonged to Lesley, and that he took them with him on his departure ; they being returned to Rome, according to custom, on his death. There is, I believe, a similar custom still obtaining in the Catholic Church, under special circumstances. As I have said, I have of the identity of this table no documentary evidence whatever, but I deemed it of sufficient importance to bring to notice, even though in a fragmentary way. My sketch shows the general appearance of the relic. The top is certainly more finished than the supports, though of the same original construction. It gives the impression of having been squared and polished.

In the absence of proof I do not, of course, claim authenticity for this altar ; still, the undoubted age of the "bit of furniture" (to put it on the lowest footing) renders it worthy of a better fate than that of a lumber-shelf.

C. R. B. B.

*The Vanishing Signs of London.* By J. H. MACMICHAEL.—A singularly neglected field of research, so far as London is concerned, is that which is open to inquiry in the old system of distinguishing the houses and shops by sign and signboard, as it was in force prior to the date of their general abolition in 1762. The history, origin, and associations of these relics are so bound up in the story of the City's commercial development, and in the part it has played in national progress, are so interwoven with the heraldic achievements of the monarchy, the nobility, and of the ecclesiastical hierarchy, and its vicissitudes, with its inventions, customs, social changes, and innovations, that it is astonishing to reflect that no writer has devoted his attention exclusively to this picturesque feature of old London.

The need of a book like *The Vanishing Signs* was suggested at a meeting of the British Archæological Association, upon the origin merely of certain signs, when it became evident that no work is extant which claims to describe at all adequately the picture-gallery open to us in the history of the London sign and signboard as they survive among us to the present day.

*The Vanishing Signs of London* will form a handsome volume of text, of some 280 pages in extent, suitably bound. The manuscript is ready for press, and printing the descriptive text can be begun as soon as one hundred subscribers at 12s. 6d. net signify to Mr. J. H. MacMichael, Horley, Surrey, or to Mr. David Nutt, 270-71, Strand, their willingness to support the undertaking. The author has brought together figured examples of nearly every sign described. This collection will be reproduced if sufficient support is obtained. The price of illustrated copies will be £1 10s. net.

*A Brief History, with numerous Illustrations, of the Church and Parish of Gosberton, Lincolnshire.* By WALTER JENKINSON KAYE, F.S.A.Scot., of Gosberton Hall, Spalding, will be published shortly, in 8vo. Price to subscribers, 2s. net; post free, 2s. 3d.—A vast amount of information has been collected with reference to this parish, which contains one of the finest village churches in Lincolnshire. The Parish Registers, ancient parish accounts, and Manor Court Rolls, many documents in the British Museum and Public Record Office, London, have been consulted with advantage to the work. Recent discoveries during the reflooring of the church have revealed extensive Norman foundations.

The book will contain chapters on Gosberton in its connection with the Draining of the Fens; on the Baptists, Wesleyans, and Free Methodists; on the Volunteers; on the Educational Institutions of the Parish; the Charities; and Extracts from early Gosberton Wills.

In mediæval times Gosberton was a place of considerable importance, and was the residence of members of such ancient families as those of De Rye, Cust, Calverley, Calthrop, Death, Doda, Bolle, Ansell, and De La Warre; while the great William of Wykeham, Lord High Chancellor of England and Bishop of Winchester, was once Rector here; as was also Richard Fleming, afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, and founder of Lincoln College, Oxon. Numerous references to neighbouring parishes will be found in the book.

*The History of Alton, Co. Southampton.* By WILLIAM CURTIS, M.R.C.S., L.S.A., will shortly be issued by Messrs. Warren and Son,

of Winchester. This illustrated volume will contain a grant of land at Alton to the Monastery of St. Peter and St. Paul by King Egbert, an account of the Canterbury Pilgrims passing through Alton, of the famous fight in Alton Church during the Civil War, and many other items of local interest. The work will be published at 6s. ; to subscribers the price will be 5s.

*English Illuminated Manuscripts.* By SIR EDWARD MAUNDE THOMPSON, K.C.B., D.C.L., etc., Principal Librarian of the British Museum. With twenty-one Plates in Chromo-Lithography, or Collo-type, by W. Griggs, Chromo-Lithographer to H.M. the Queen. (London : Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, and Co. 1896.)—The publishers have a few copies for disposal, the remainder of a limited edition, of the three articles on *English Illuminated Manuscripts*, contributed by Sir Edward Maunde Thompson to their magazine, *Bibliographica*.

It was thought that, for the convenience of students who might wish to have these articles in a collected form, and of lovers of English art whose interest does not extend to other departments of bibliography, such a reprint would be desirable. Extra copies of the plates were, therefore, struck off ; but as there are no means of printing additional copies except by a repetition of the outlay, no further edition be issued.

At more than one period during the seven centuries which these articles cover, the English school of illumination competed on equal terms with the best in Europe ; yet no previous attempt has been made to sketch the history of this school, from its beginning under Celtic influences to its premature decline during the Wars of the Roses ; nor has the artistic importance of any but the very earliest period been illustrated by adequate reproductions.

The price at issue will be 18s. net, rising subsequently.

*Tewkesbury Abbey* is the noblest parish church in England. Larger than many cathedrals, second to none for its historic associations, enriched with architectural features of matchless interest, with its massive Norman nave and tower, and graceful Decorated choir and ambulatory, this famous Abbey is one of the few survivals of the great destruction which followed the dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century. The inhabitants of Tewkesbury (then, as now, a small country town of 5,000 people) saved their church, which, with its monastic buildings, was actually scheduled for destruction, by a large money payment to the Royal Exchequer. For three centuries great efforts have repeatedly been made by them to preserve it from decay. Seventeen years ago the restoration of the interior was com-

pleted at a cost of more than £11,000, the work having been carried out under the supervision of the late Sir Gilbert Scott, and his son, Mr. J. O. Scott, Architect. This restoration was accomplished by the efforts of the Vicars, Canon Davies and Archdeacon Robeson, supported by laymen, and valuable gifts have since been added. But the exterior was scarcely touched, for want of funds, and the time has now arrived when extensive external repairs to roofs and walls are absolutely necessary. For the maintenance of this magnificent and once wealthy Abbey there remains *an endowment of not £20 per annum*. The benefice is of a net value of *less than £200 per annum*. The weekly offerings and casual fees are not sufficient to provide for the ordinary church expenses. Feeling, therefore, the importance of preserving their church, the Abbey Restoration Committee have resolved to appeal to Churchmen at large to aid in completing the restoration of the building, and providing effectually for its future substantial maintenance and care. For this a sum of £10,000 is needed, to be employed :—1 (£7,000), in repairing and in renewing the roofs of nave and transepts—that of the north transept, over the great organ, being now in a deplorable condition—and in arresting decay in the stonework ; the remainder to be invested as a permanent fabric fund, by means of which the building may be constantly attended to. 2 (£3,000), to maintain the services of the church. The Committee are confident that this national monument will not be allowed to remain in its precarious position.

Donations, to be spread over three years if desired, and which may be devoted to either of the objects stated, should be sent to the Hon. Treasurers : the Archdeacon of Gloucester, College Green, Gloucester, or Alfred Baker, Esq., The Old Bank, Tewkesbury.





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NOTES ON  
THE PARISH REGISTERS OF NEWBURY.

BY WALTER MONEY, ESQ., F.S.A.

(*Read 19 Feb. 1896.*)



IN England, until the reign of Henry VIII, parish registers were unknown, when the duty of keeping them was imposed on the parochial clergy by a royal injunction, which was published by Thomas Cromwell, Lord Privy Seal, in his capacity of Vicar-General, on 29th September 1538.

Of the Registers commenced in compliance with this new institution are to be reckoned those of Newbury, which, with the exception of a few entries which have been excised,<sup>1</sup> are complete up to the present time, and are in excellent preservation.

In the reign of Edward VI another attempt was made

<sup>1</sup> Many years since a piece of the Register of Baptisms for 1614-15 was cut out by some miscreant, probably in connection with certain law proceedings; but in 1894 the present writer succeeded in replacing one side of the page from transcripts obtained at the Diocesan Registry at Salisbury.



to secure the proper keeping of a Register by associating the parishioners generally in its guardianship, the King's injunctions in 1547 being directed to the "parson, vicar, or curate, and *parishioners*." This was confirmed by Act of Parliament in the first year of Elizabeth, the only alteration then made being in the disposal of the fine of 3s. 4d., which was attached to neglect of the duty of registration. This had been allotted by Cromwell's injunctions to the repairs of the church; that of Edward VI, however, transferred it to the poor-box, and the Act of Queen Elizabeth divided it between the two.

In the year 1555, Cardinal Pole, having the royal licence, held a synod at which canons were drawn up for reforming the state of the Church, when, among other things, it was directed that the names of the godfathers and godmothers were to be added in the Register of Baptisms,—a custom which was duly observed at Newbury, and continued for a very considerable period.

In 1562 an attempt was made to consolidate the system of registration by the establishment of diocesan registries under parliamentary authority, but the energetic opposition of the clergy caused the scheme to be abandoned. Nor did a proposal of Lord Burghley's in 1590, for a general office to embrace the whole kingdom, fare much better; and at the earnest entreaty of Archbishop Whitgift this was also withdrawn.

The clergy, having had their attention thus called to the subject, did for themselves in 1597 what they would not allow Parliament to do for them; and by a canon which passed both Houses of the Convocation of Canterbury, copies of the Parochial Registers were ordered to be sent to the Diocesan Registry within one month after Easter in each year, to be preserved in the episcopal archives.

By the 70th canon of 1603, made by the bishops and clergy in Convocation, it is ordered that every parish should provide itself with a parchment book, in which the entries from the old paper books were to be fairly and legibly transcribed, each page being signed by the ministers and churchwardens of that year in which the copy was made: a circumstance which gave rise to the

ludicrous notion respecting the longevity of the clergy of the seventeenth century which at one time found strenuous defenders amongst antiquarian writers.

In some few parishes, including Newbury, the original paper books are still in existence; and it does not appear that the transcript on vellum was made as ordered in the canon, although it is evident the pages between 1538 and 1603 have been copied from the original memoranda made by the officiating clergy.

During the Civil War Parish Registers were for the first time regulated by Act of Parliament. On 6th December 1644, the subject was especially referred by the House of Commons to the Committee who had in charge the Directory for the Public Worship of God, presided over by Dr. Twisse, Rector of Newbury and Prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly of Divines, which was by a solemn ordinance substituted for the Book of Common Prayer. The Directory ordained that "a fair register book of velim" should be provided in every parish, and that the names of all children baptized, and the time of their birth, and also the names of all persons married and buried, should be set down therein by the minister.

In August 1653 an Act was passed, called, after its author, the "Barebones Act", by which the custody of the parish books was transferred from the clergy and churchwardens to an official called the "Parish Register", who was sworn into his office by a Justice of the Peace, and empowered to charge a fee of 12*d.* for every certificate of publication and entry of marriage, and 4*d.* on each birth and death. The Act does not mention baptisms, and therefore in most parishes births only are recorded at this period.

The Register's duties under the Act were not limited to registration, for it was now enacted that, after 29th September 1654, no marriage was to be celebrated within the Commonwealth of England without the Register's certificate that he had published banns in "three successive Lord's Days, at the close of the morning Exercise in the public meeting place, commonly called the church or chapel, or (if the parties preferred it) in the nearest

market-place on three successive market-days." The persons intending to be married were to take this certificate to the nearest Justice of the Peace, when the man was to take the woman by the hand, and pronounce plainly and distinctly the following words :

" I (A. B.) do here, in the presence of God, the searcher of all hearts, take thee (C. D.) for my wedded wife, and do also, in the presence of God and before these witnesses, promise to be unto thee a loving and faithful husband."

Then the woman was in like form to promise to be " a loving, faithful, and obedient wife"; whereupon the Justice was to declare them man and wife.

Nothing is here said about the ring, which has from time to time been used in the marriage service ; but the marriage-ring was assumed to be of heathen origin, and it was gravely debated by the Puritans whether it ought not to be prohibited. This did not escape ridicule after the Restoration, and we read in *Hudibras* :—

" Others were for abolishing  
This tool of matrimony, a ring,  
With which th' unsanctified Bridegroom  
Is married only to a thumb,  
(As wise as ringing of a pig  
That us'd to break up ground and dig),  
The Bride to nothing but her will,  
That nulls the after-marriage still."

Another part of the marriage ceremony which shocked the Puritans was the kiss, in which the officiating priest joined, as Shakespeare says in *Twelfth Night*,—

"A contract of eternal bond of love,  
Confirm'd by mutual joinder of your hands,  
Attested by the holy close of lips,  
Strengthen'd by interchangement of your rings."

There are numerous entries of these marriages in the Newbury Register, and of the proclamation at the Market Cross.

This enactment of civil marriages was resented by the mass of the people as a grievance that they were not allowed to marry in church, and therefore, when the Marriage Act was confirmed in 1656, the declaration was

annulled that no other marriage, except by a magistrate, was valid. It now became a common practice for marriage to be celebrated by the minister and mayor of the town jointly.

The legislation of the Commonwealth was ignored after the Restoration, but the civil marriages which had taken place were legalised by Act of Parliament in 1660.

By an Act, 18 and 19 Charles II, c. 4 (1666), it was enacted that after 25th March, 1667, no person should be "buried in any shift, or sheete other than should be made of woole onely"; ostensibly for the encouragement of the woollen manufacturers, and prevention of the exportations of moneys for the buying and importing of *linen*; the penalty for non-compliance with the statute being £50. But it was generally disobeyed, and in 1678 an Act was passed which obliged the clergy to make an entry in the Register that an affidavit had been brought to them within eight days after the burial, certifying that the requirements of the law had been complied with. It now became the practice for the parish clerk to call out at the grave, immediately after the conclusion of the burial service, "Who makes affidavit?" Upon which one of the relatives came forward and made the necessary oath, which was duly entered in the Register. This Act was, however, more successful in enforcing the penalty than in changing the custom of the higher classes, who regarded it rather as a tax to be paid than a law to be observed. As a proof of this, the example of the famous actress, Mrs. Oldfield, who died in 1730, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, has often been quoted. According to the testimony of her maid, Elizabeth Saunders, her body was by her express request dressed "in a very fine Brussels lace headdress, a holland shift, and double ruffles of the same lace, a pair of new kid gloves, and was then wrapped in a winding-sheet of fine linen." Her posthumous vanity has been immortalised by Pope in the well-known lines :

"Odious ! In woollen ! 'T would a saint provoke,  
Were the last words that poor Narcissa spoke.  
No ! Let a charming chintz and Brussels lace  
Wrap my cold limbs and shade my lifeless face.

One would not, sure, be frightful when one's dead,—  
And, Betty, give this cheek a little red."

The law of burying in woollen was extended to Ireland in 1733, but it was seldom enforced, and in England it had gradually fallen into disuse long before the statutes of Charles II were finally repealed in 1814.

In the year 1694, amongst other taxes "for carrying on the war with France with vigour", a graduated scale of duties was imposed, for five years, upon births, marriages and burials; but the enactment was unpopular, and was suffered to expire.

The Stamp Act of 1783 for the first time imposed a duty of 3*d*. upon every entry in the Parish Register, but this obnoxious statute was repealed in 1794.

The whole system of registration was changed in 1813, in accordance with the Act of the previous year. Forms similar to those now in use were supplied in paper for baptisms and burials, while the marriages were continued in very much the same form as before. The record of the banns was transferred to another book, and the words "by consent of" were added; this blank intended, of course, to be filled up with the words "parents" or "guardians", as the case might be, when the bride was under age.

In 1837 occurred the last change, when the shape of the marriage-books was altered, and two volumes were provided—one to be sent, when filled up, to the official registrar, and the other to remain permanently in the custody of the incumbent (6 and 7 William IV, c. 36). The books for baptisms and burials remained unaltered.

The present system of civil registration, which collects in one central office the births, marriages, and deaths of the whole population of England in books alphabetically indexed, has practically superseded, as a legal record, the modern Registers of baptism and burial; but from an historical and genealogical point of view, the Parish Registers previous to 1837 are every year becoming of greater value and importance.

The Register of Baptisms commences with the following preliminary title:

"In the yeare of our Lord 1538 and in the 30 yeare of the Raigne of o<sup>r</sup> most noble Kynge Henry the Eyghth In Earth Supreme head undar Christ of the Church of England and Geven by hys most Gracious Instructions In thys yeare as follows."

In looking through the entries contained in the earliest Register of Baptisms, it is surprising to find how few of the names are still connected with the town. Of these we may mention those of Gray, Bunny, Goddard, Vincent, Shaw, Dibley, Basing, Fielder, Kimber, Grove, Avery, Bew, Godding, Edmonds, Snow, Vertue or Virtue, Lynch, Gough, Bullock, Banning, Willis, Pearce, Ayres, Hassall, Ellyett or Elliott, Harrison, Langton, Purdue, Clements, Machin, Sargent, Garland.

The following are some of the other surnames observable amongst the early baptisms, a few of which are to be traced at intervals all through these earlier records: Cranmer, Latimer, Pole, Cobham, Coke, Lonsdale, Baybrook or Braybrooke, Tull, Earbury or Erbury, Lyripin, Strickland, Maners, Spencer, Milton, Sugden, Avelin, Lovell, Ormonde, Arundell, Tyndall, Becke, Norris, Huntingdon, Golafre, Castillian, Cheney, Clifford, Gressham, Accharde, Hollys, Ockham, Denman, Egerton, Inglefielde, Benyon, Barker, Waller (of the Parliamentary General's family), Montague, Garrard, Fillemore or Phillimore, Eyre, Maunsell, Harmar, Vaughan, Conwaye, Hardinge, Buckingham, Hungerford, Essex, Merivale, Jerome or Jeremie, Justice, Notyngham, Buckley or Bulkeley, Paulet, Whittington, Berkly or Berkeley, More, Bacon, Florie, Ludlow, Russell, Rigby, Pope, Trenchard, Keate, Pettie, Kiblewhite, Iremonger, Child, Fosberry, Herbert, Acton, Lancaster, Landseer, Morrell, Champe, Barksdale, Collett, Arden, Dunch, Shipton, Choke, Blunt, Audley, Brice, Holwell, Mortimer, Sylvester, Tomlyns, Prynne, Sprint, Lowndes, Toldervey, Hawkins, Shirley.

Of the families who were prominently connected with the clothing industry in days gone by we frequently meet with those of Winchcombe, Dolman, Yate, Blandy, Gray, Kistill, Saunderson, Twisse, Hyde, Head, Hunt, Camber, Holmes, Avery, Cawarden, Rigby, Pearse, Poore, Basing, Pettie, Henshaw, Hore or Hoare, Burchill, Cooper, Walter, Waller, Edmonds, Hall, Fowler, Kimber, Little-

field, Morse, Seeley, Merriman, Lovidge, Robinson, Coxedd, Cooke, Giles, Houghton, Weston, Blissett, Grove, Dangerfield, Wilton, Tanner, Pocock, Deale, Jemmett, Ely, many of whom were well-known benefactors to the town.

In the sixteenth century there are many names to be found whose descendants were among the first settlers in New England. Of these, many are familiar in the chronicles of the Pilgrim Fathers, such as Parker, Woodbridge, Noyse, Brown, Clark, Cheyney, Pike, Titcomb, Kelly, Kent, Gough or Goff, Somersby, Plumer, Osgood, Poore, Batt, Morse, and Emerson.

Of the worthies who received baptism at the parish church we find the following : Thomas Lyripin, a well-known Fellow of Winchester College; John Harmar, D.D., Warden and Head-Master of the same foundation, and Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford; Thomas Hyde, Fellow of New College, who was also Head-Master of Wykeham's College at Winchester; Roger Ockham, Chancellor of Sarum, who took a very active part against the Protestants in Queen Mary's reign; William Blandye, translator of Hieronimus Osorius; John Hassall, D.D., Prebendary of Lichfield and Dean of Norwich; Francis Barksdale, a well-known physician; William Bew, major of Loyalist horse, then D.D., Vicar of Adderbury, and Bishop of Llandaff; John Chamberlain, of the family of this name of Shirburn Castle, Oxfordshire, and owner of Donnington Castle, of whose "sureties" was John Jewell, Bishop of Sarum; Phillip Jemmett, founder of Raymond's Almshouses, was baptised 8th September 1616; Edward Godwin, who became an eminent Nonconformist divine, 12th December 1261; Robert Twisse (son of William Twisse, Rector of Newbury and Prolocutor of the Westminster Assembly of Divines), first incumbent of the "New Church", Westminster, 28th April 1627.

It may be here noted that during the Commonwealth period, although the registration of *births* only was required, baptism was not prohibited. In the Newbury Register we find the registration of both births and baptisms. It is also perfectly clear that many of the Com-

monwealth clergy did baptise children, for we have numberless instances of this in our Register. Many even of the old Puritans would not give up the religious ceremony of baptism, and several children of the Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge and the Rev. Samuel Sprint, both eminent Nonconformist divines, are recorded as having been baptised at the parish church. Where the baptisms were delayed, it was probably because the parents would not have their children baptised by the interloping incumbents. Samuel Tomlyns, another noted Nonconformist divine, was baptised in 1695; and in later years Penrose the poet, on the 9th December 1742. On the 28 April 1744, the day of his birth, there was baptised at the parish church Francis Baily, the future renowned astronomer and mathematician, who has a fitting biographer in the late Sir John Frederick William Herschel; and it is a fact not unworthy of repetition, that Sir John spent some part of his early youth at Newbury, where he attended a school kept by Mr. Bull. The old school-room is still extant, and is now used as a warehouse, at the rear of Mr. Edmond's premises on the east side of Northbrook Street.

The Bails were of old standing at Thatcham, and lived in the same house there for over two hundred years. Richard Baily of Thatcham, the father of Francis, migrated from that place to Newbury,<sup>1</sup> and became a banker (Baily and Vincent). The Bank came to grief, but ultimately paid everybody in full. He (Richard Baily) married Miss Sarah Head, whose father's family for centuries occupied a leading position in the town of Newbury, and one of them built the fine, solid-looking old house on the west side of Northbrook Street, with its seven high pilasters and tiers of seven windows, where the mother of the famous astronomer was born. The house is divided into two, one of which is occupied by Dr. Wyllie.

In the old wills the Bails are described as pike-makers; i.e., they sold their wood to make the shafts of

<sup>1</sup> John Baily, brother of Richard of Newbury, ran through the family estates, and sold them so badly that the purchaser paid the cost with the proceeds of the first year's thinnings of the woods.



the military weapon known as the pike, the handle of which was 12 or 14 ft. long, with a flat steel head, pointed, called the spear. This instrument was long in use in the army, but was ultimately superseded by the bayonet fixed on the muzzle of the firelock.

John Baily, Esq., of Blandford Square, London, the elder brother of Francis Baily the astronomer, was father of the late Laurence R. Baily, Esq., M.P., of Allerton Hall, near Liverpool, who died a few years since. The above John Baily was the last of the family buried in the family vault in Thatcham Church. The Bails, after 1774, lived in the house in Northbrook Street, known of late years as Cambridge House, which had been previously occupied by Rear-Admiral Thorpe Fowke, a very eccentric character, who enjoined that the pallbearers at his funeral should consist wholly of females, which singular wish was complied with. There is a monument to the Admiral, who died in 1774, in Shaw Church.

The handwriting of the earliest book is remarkably good and careful—much better than a century later; but the spelling is a matter of the most perfect indifference, and accounts for the extraordinary way in which many modern names have been metamorphosed, owing to illiterate parish clerks and others, who generally spelt them phonetically, or as pronounced in the local vernacular. Thus Dolman is written in at least four different ways, and at last becomes Doman, Downum, Dowman, in which form it still survives at Basingstoke and elsewhere. Farrow is written Ffarar, Ffarer, Farrer, Fayer, Ferar, Farrar, and Ffarrow. Arundell, again, appears in the form of Arndell, Arndill, Arundel, and many other variations; in some cases becoming identified with Arnald and Arnold. The historic name of Cawarden, very frequent in the Newbury records, is spelt in an infinite variety of forms, and at last is reduced to Carden. Innumerable other instances might be adduced of careless and eccentric spelling, such as Castellton for Castillion, Poke for Pocock, Woless for Wallace, Twist for Twisse, Volah for Waller, Mountaku for Montagu, Cowslip for Cowslade, Mors for Morse, Sherrin for Sherwin, Bans for

Bance, and a Mr. Hawkins' child is written as "Mr. Hockinceis child." Under date of March 1760 we find this entry : "Mary Rawlins, No. 16142, an Infant from the Hospetel of Exposed and decerted young Children." This was a child from the Foundling Hospital, London, many of whom at this time were boarded out. The same system is now adopted with the children in this institution under four years of age, except that the Governors have only two special districts, each under the immediate charge of a medical man and his wife.

We now come to the Register of Marriages, which have always been recorded with greater care and regularity than baptisms and burials, from the obvious importance to persons of all ranks and religions of preserving legal proof of their children's legitimacy. The preliminary title to the entry of marriages is as follows :

"In Ann<sup>d</sup> dno 1538 And In the xxx yeare of the Rayne of our most vartuous Kynge Henry the eyghthe In earth Supreme head undar o<sup>r</sup> savyor Jesus Christ of the Church."

It will be observed that not only is the King introduced with his new title, Supreme Head of the Church of England, as in the Register of Baptisms, but is here endowed with an apparent title of moral goodness which seems very inappropriately applied to his character. Such a want of moral rectitude would not, however, affect these formal designations, and it may be pointed out that the word "vartuous" signifies the possession of the sum of all the corporeal or mental excellencies of man rather than moral perfection.

Marriages, we may here note, were prohibited by the ancient discipline of the Church during the season of Advent, Lent, and Whitsuntide ; and in an old Register quoted in the *Chronicon Mirabile* there occurs the following preface to the marriages :

"Marriage comes in on the 13th of January, and at Septuagesima Sunday it is out again until Low Sunday, at which time it comes in again, and goes not out till Rogation Sunday. Thence it is unforbidden until Trinity Sunday ; from thence it is forbidden until Advent Sunday, and comes not in again till the 13th of January."

The close time was respited to Advent and Lent by the Council of Trent, but this decree had no force in England. The Clementine decretals and the Sarum Use interdicted the time between Rogation and Trinity Sunday.

One of the most noticeable things in the first Register Book of Matrimony is the frequent record of the marriage of priests, following the passing of the Act of Uniformity (2 and 3 Edward VI), by which these marriages were permitted. Several of the priests who had accepted the new order of things at the Reformation have the title of "Sir" prefixed to their names: a scholastic term, the translation of *dominus*, given to a person who had taken his first degree at the University.

In 1541 occurs the marriage of Renold Golofor, or Golafre, a family of very considerable note in this county and the adjoining county of Oxford. The old Newbury name of Dows or Dowse occurs as early as 1542; and in 1545 that of Gray, a family established here at an earlier date. In 1547 Robert Skynner was married to Joan Palmer; and the next year John Symonsse wedded Alice Paulens, and Sir William Meane, the elder (priest), led Joan Basing to the altar. John Maunsell, of the distinguished family of this name, of Margam, county Glamorgan, was married to Julian Barkeley, 6th January 1563. In 1570 Raffe Lucas is described as of *Spyne*, a very close approximation to the Roman name of *Spinæ* or Speen; and in one or two other instances in the Registers we find it in the same form. In 1583 we find the entry of the marriage of Thomas Cranmer; but whether this was a branch of the family of the illustrious Archbishop we have been unable to trace. On 24 July 1634, John Weste married Susan Allen. The former name, as corresponding to that of the founder of Christ's Hospital Charity, occurs more than once in the Register, as does that of his wife, Steare or Steere; and hence, no doubt, the connection with this town. The well-known name of Bodman appears first in 1682, when Theophilus Bodman, of the parish of St. Martin's-in-the-Fields, London, married Lydia Field, of Newbury. In 1709 Mr. Richard Southby, of Winterbourne, was married to Naomie Hil-

lier, written "Ellyer". Thomas Arndell, or Arundell, of St. Martin's, Marlborough, wedded "Hana" Clements of Newbury in 1710. In 1713 William Elton, of Boxford, wedded Elizabeth Arndell or Arundell of Burghclere; and in 1736 William Arundell, of Newbury, married Elizabeth Hinton, granddaughter of the Rev. John Hinton, Rector of Newbury. These Arundells (illiterally written "Arndell") were a direct branch from the family of the Lords Arundell of Wardour.

Passing on to the year 1752, the marriage is recorded of "Thomas Eyre and Princess Brittannia Maish (? Marsh), both of this parish", the lady's name being a loyal combination which it is difficult to explain; but there is no accounting for the vagaries of parents, even at the present day, in bestowing odd names on their children.

The Register for the year 1759 furnishes us with perhaps the most remarkable entry in these parish records, as under :—

"Richard Eyles, sojourner in this parish, and Hannah Snell, of the same, married by license, the 3rd day of November 1759, by Thomas Penrose, Rector, in the presence of Henrietta Powys, Edmund Cox."

Richard Eyles was a journeyman-carpenter in the town, and his bride the valiant heroine known as "The Female Soldier". Hannah Snell was born in Fryer Street, in the city of Worcester, where her father carried on the business of a hosier and dyer, in 1723, and was the youngest of a family of nine children, three sons and six daughters. Her paternal grandfather, who attained the rank of captain in the army, served with much distinction under the Duke of Marlborough, and was present at Blenheim and Malplaquet, where he was mortally wounded, after having fought bravely in twenty-two different engagements. This patriotic spirit descended to Hannah's three brothers, who all became either soldiers or sailors. The eldest, serving under the Duke of Cumberland, was killed at the battle of Fontenoy; and her sisters, with one exception, married men in the military or naval services. On the death of her parents, in 1740, Hannah went to reside with a sister who had

married a carpenter in Wapping. Here she became acquainted with a Dutch sailor of the name of Simms, and married him in the Fleet, 17th January 1743-4. This man treated her with great inhumanity, and leaving her almost destitute, in 1745 she left London in a suit of her brother-in-law's clothes, and at Coventry enlisted in the regiment commanded by General Guise, assuming the name of James Gray. In this regiment she served some time, during the rebellion in Scotland; but having been unjustly punished through the jealousy of a sergeant of her company, she deserted from the corps, and at Portsmouth enlisted in the Marines. She was now drafted to the Swallow sloop, part of Admiral Boscawen's fleet, on board of which she went out to the East Indies, and there served for several years. At the siege of Pondicherry she received no less than twelve severe wounds; and although suffering excruciating agony, at great risk of her life extracted a bullet which had lodged in a dangerous part of her body, in order that the secret of her sex should not be discovered. On her recovery she was sent to England, and on being discharged made her sex known to some of her comrades; and on petitioning the Duke of Cumberland obtained an annual pension of £30 for life. She also received an out-pension from Chelsea Hospital.

Hannah continued for some years after her discharge to wear her uniform, and occasionally exhibited at Goodman's Fields' Theatre, in singing and performing the military exercises. This female warrior, as we have seen, married at Newbury, in 1759, in her maiden name, her second husband, Richard Eyles, and appears to have lived for some time in this town, as in March 1763-4 the baptism of Thomas Eyles, one of her children, is entered in the Parish Register. On the 16th November 1772, Hannah, becoming for the third time a widow, married at Wickham Chapel, in the parish of Welford, one Richard Habgood, as appears by the following entry in the Parish Register of Marriages :

"Richard Habgood and Hannah Eyles y<sup>e</sup>  
16th of November 1772 (Han. Snell, Soldier)."

In a footnote to this entry, in a transcript made by Mrs. Batson, Richard Habgood is described as of the parish of Speen.

Eventually our heroine showing signs of insanity, she was placed in Bethlehem Hospital, where she died in 1792, at the age of sixty-nine; and by her own particular desire was buried in the cemetery attached to the Royal Military Hospital, Chelsea, where she lies amid the veterans who, like herself, had done great service to their country on many a hard-fought field.

Mr. Andrew Grove, representative of one of the oldest Newbury families, was wedded to Miss Elizabeth Hinton, granddaughter to the Rev. John Hinton, a former Rector of Newbury and Shaw, 26th September 1765; and in the following October, Mr. Osman Vincent, mercer, was united to Miss Budd, described in a local journal as an "agreeable lady with a genteel fortune". Mr. Vincent succeeded his father-in-law, Mr. Richard Budd, as a mercer in Newbury, at the corner of the Mansion House Street.

The marriage of Thomas Penrose, the poet, with Miss Mary Slocock, eldest daughter of Mr. Samuel Slocock, of Newbury, is recorded under the date of 20th September 1768. In an early poem of Penrose's, in *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1761, entitled "Newbury Belles", the poet's future wife is thus mentioned:

"How astonished when first from the throng  
Lovely Polly stood forth to the sight;  
When she moved like a goddess along,  
And shone like an angel of light."

After the poet's death, in 1779, this lady married Mr. Best, and became the mother of the Rev. Thomas Best, Curate of Shaw, and Richard Best, surgeon, of Newbury.

Under date of 26th January 1802, is entered the marriage of Henry Lord, D.D., of Barfreyston, co. Kent, and Sarah Mentor of Newbury.

On 25th April 1803, the Rev. Horace Salisbury Cotton, Curate of Newbury, was married to Caroline Amelia Merriman, whose family for many generations occupied a prominent and honourable position in this town.

On 28th February 1804, Mr. Harry Browne, of Diss,

co. Norfolk, was united to Miss Mary Ann Bunny, of Newbury. Mr. William Dryland was wedded to Miss Elizabeth Coombs, 17th June 1808; and on 14th September, the same year, Mr. John Faithorne, of the parish of St. George's, Bloomsbury, to Miss Catharine Crook, of Newbury. The marriage of a former well-known inhabitant of Newbury, Mr. Jere Bunny, with Miss Clara Slocock, occurs under the date of 3rd April 1813.

Mr. Richard Winter Isemonger, of the Island of Guernsey, was wedded to Miss Eliza Haskins, of the parish of Newbury, 8th May 1813. Mr. John Kitcat, a name once familiar in Newbury, was married to Phillippa James, 14th August 1817.

Mr. James Ebenezer Bicheno, F.L.S., son of the Rev. James Bicheno, Baptist Minister and schoolmaster, was married at the parish church to Miss Elizabeth Lloyd, daughter of Mr. Samuel Andrew Lloyd, of St. Mary's Hill, 31st July 1821, but lost his wife within the year. He was called to the Bar by the Middle Temple, and was a member of the chief English learned societies. In September 1842, he was appointed Colonial Secretary in Van Diemen's Land, and died at Hobart Town in 1851. On 3rd July 1823, Mr. Richard Budd, of Cirencester, was married to Ann Stroud, sojourner in the parish.

The following noteworthy entry appears under the date of 11th of May 1824 :

"Henry Hart Milman, Vicar of St. Mary's, Reading, and Mary Ann Cockell, of Sandleford, near Newbury, were married in this church by License, this eleventh day of May, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-four, by me, P. Edward Boissier, Off<sup>r</sup> Min<sup>r</sup>."

The bridegroom was the youngest son of Sir Francis Milman, first Baronet, Physician to King George III, by Frances, daughter and heir of William Hart, of Stapleton, co. Gloucester, Esq., and was born in Brook Street, St. James's, Westminster, 10th February 1791. He matriculated from Brazenose College, 25th May 1810, and was B.A., 27th January 1814, M.A., 27th June 1816, and LL.D. and D.D., 17th December 1849. He became curate of Ealing, Middlesex, 1816; Vicar of St. Mary's, Reading, 1817; Rector of St. Margaret's,

Westminster, 1835, being by virtue thereof a Prebendary of Westminster; and Dean of St. Paul's, 1st November 1849. Dean Milman died, universally beloved and revered, on the 24th September 1868, and was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral. The bride was the youngest daughter of Lieut.-General William Cockell of Sandleford Lodge, which, with the neighbouring Priory, is for all ecclesiastical purposes within the parish of Newbury.

On 29th December, the same year, William Northworthy, Esq., of the Regent's Park, London, was married to a Miss Lucy Wood of Newbury. The marriage of a Newbury worthy, Mr. Edmund Slocock, to Miss Elizabeth Greenway, is recorded under date of 9th August 1826. On 25th August 1827, a gentleman bearing the artistic name of Raffaele Amato, residing at Sandleford, was married to Ellenor (*sic*) Harrison of the same place, by license. In 1828, 28th December, Jesse Oliver was married to a bride bearing the historic name of Mary Ludlow. On 8th January 1829, John Septimus Roe, R.N., second son of the Rector, was married to Miss Matilda Bennett, daughter of Mr. Henry J. Bennett of Wilbaston, co. Cheshire, a Liverpool merchant. Captain Roe became Surveyor-General of Western Australia, and died in May 1788, aged eighty-one. A gentleman bearing the good Portuguese name of Francis Raphael Mascarenhas, residing in the parish of Speen, entered the married state with Miss Martha Hippiisley, of the parish of Newbury, 21 April 1829. Another son of Rev. James Roe, Rector, William Roe, was married to Miss Frances Cooper, 20th April 1830. Mr. William Child of Ibthorpe, Hurstbourne Tarrant, one of an old Hampshire family, was married to Miss Sarah Fielder, of Newbury, 3rd May 1830. Mr. Samuel Eleazar Toomer, of Preston-next-Wingham, Kent, was married to Miss Sophia Toomer, of Newbury, 15th April 1831; and on 6th September, the same year, Mr. Chas. Blake, of Lymington, Hants, joined hands with Mary Champagny of Newbury. The wedding of Mr. James Bodman, the younger, with Matilda Grigg, widow, took place 19th December 1831; and that of Mr. Robert Atkinson Ryott with Sarah Lambden, 29th January 1832. The marriage of a stranger, Mr. Edmund



Henry Courtney, of St. Mary's, Lambeth, with Miss Henrietta Norton, was solemnised 12th August 1832. In 1833, 23rd June, Mr. Elisha Hunter Ryott, of Rochester, was married to Martha Lambden. A member of the old Wiltshire family of Goldney, Samuel Alfred Goldney, of the parish of St. James's, Westminster, was married on 17th May 1833, to Miss Amelia Goldney; and another of the family, the Rev. Adam Goldney, was the officiating minister; Mary Greenway Goldney, Horatio Nelson Goldney, and George Goldney being witnesses. Edward Eyles of St. Martin's, Ludgate, and Sarah Wells of Newbury, were united by the Rev. Joseph Birchall, 10th September 1833. The marriage of Mr. Henry Godwin, of the parish of Holyrood, Southampton, with Miss Martha Spicer, was solemnised 10th December 1833. In 1835, 13th July, Mr. John Osgood was married to Miss Jane Long,—a happy couple who still enjoy a green old age. The following year, 13th September 1836, Mr. Geo. Fred. Alderson, of the parish of St. Mary Tower, Ipswich, was married to Miss Maria Davis of Newbury; the name of her brother, Mr. Alexander Davis, occurring as one of the witnesses, also that of Mr. Beza Blundell, the well-known antiquarian writer. On the 1st of April 1837, Mr. Jem Goddard, of Speenhamland, led to the altar Miss Mary Woodham, the officiating clergyman being the late Rev. Daniel W. Goddard. A wedding which appears to have caused a lively interest among the families concerned was solemnised on the following 23rd May, the contracting parties (to use the modern phraseology) being Mr. Charles Hopkinson, of the parish of St. James's, Westminster, and Miss Clara Bunny, daughter of Mr. Jere Bunny of Newbury. The officiating clergyman was the Rev. Samuel Slocock, Rector of Wasing, and the entry in the Register is accompanied by the signatures of twenty-two members and friends of the bride and bridegroom present at the ceremony.

The Register of Burials opens with the following preliminary title:

"In the yeare of oure Lord God M<sup>c</sup>XXXVIII and the        yeare  
of his mostte noble Raygne Henry the Eyght In Earthe the  
Supreme head next undar Christ of Ingland."

One of the earliest burials in the Register, under the year 1538, is that of "Mr. Henry Bryges, Esq.," who was uncle to Sir John Brydges, created Lord Chandos of Sudeley, in 1544. Master John Waytt, Parson of Newbury, and one of the executors of Jack of Newbury, was buried in 1539. In 1546 John Magott, formerly Prior of St. Bartholomew's, who with Edward Heydon, Rector, and some of the other priests, became amenable to the changed order of things at the Reformation. In 1549, Joan Winchcombe, apparently the second wife and widow of Jack of Newbury; 1553, John Lichpole, constable, was buried,—an office corresponding to that of high constable of a *Hundred*, appointed at the General Quarter Sessions. In 1544 occurs this entry, "William Pollainton drounyd in dronkyness".

During Queen Mary's reign we have indications of the revival of the Roman Catholic religion in the burials of "Ffathar Dyckar", "Ffathar Griffin", and other priests of the church. In 1557 John Smalwode, *alias* Winchcombe, eldest son of Jack of Newbury, whose portrait is in the Council Chamber, was buried. In 1562 the daughter of Robert King, farmer of the benefice of Newbury; from which it appears the rectory was in the hands of a lay impropiator. In 1563 "Northbroke Streat" is mentioned. Joan Walker, the wife of the constable, was buried in 1572; and on 30th November 1587, Griffith Curtis, Esq., of Greenham, M.P. for Ludgershall, Wilts, whose monument is now affixed to the south exterior wall of the chancel; 1592, 28th April Philip Kistill, a well-known clothier, and benefactor to the Church Almshouses; in 1595, Christopher Bunney; in 1596, Hugh Shepley, Rector, "a lamb-like man, born on an Easter Daye"; in 1603, Mr. Thomas Edmonds, "one of the Queen's Majesties Councell"; the same year, Sir Smith Lewis, Knt., of Chamberhouse Castle, in the parish of Thatcham.

The "Pest" or plague was very prevalent in Newbury at this time, as shown by the great increase in deaths. On 12th June 1604, was buried Bartholomew Yate, *the first Mayor of Newbury*, appointed by the Charter of Incorporation, dated the 28th May 1596. He was a

clothier in the town, and a member of the well-known family of this name, of Westbrook, in Faringdon, and Buckland. His marriage with Alice Cook, of Newbury, is recorded in the Register. Edward Holmes, clothier, the first named of the six Aldermen appointed by the Charter, was buried 23rd March 1605-6; and on the 22nd January 1607-8, one of his brother Aldermen, Henry Coxe. Christopher Twisse, probably father to the famous Doctor, and one of the first-named burgesses, was buried 4th May 1608; and his brother burgess, Christopher Walker, the following 17th October. William Barksdale, whose family migrated from Winchcombe, in Gloucestershire, to Newbury (whence came the famous Jack of Newbury), another original burgess, was buried 25th June, 1609.

On the 28th August, the same year, "Mr. William Browne, of Sandleford", was buried in the church. This family, which claims descent from the Viscounts Montague, was a very prominent one in Newbury at this time; and was lately represented in this county by the Rev. J. T. Brown, late Rector of St. Paul's, Wokingham, and brother to the late Rev. F. Brown of Beckenham, Kent, whose collections relative to old families, particularly those connected with the county of Somerset, from 1500 to 1760, are of such high value and importance. Branches of this line of the Browne family resided at Denford and at Marlborough, and are described in the records of the latter place as "*Weare alias Browne.*"

Roger Saunderson, one of the Court of Aldermen appointed by the Charter, was buried 21 October 1611, followed by his brother Alderman, John Kistill, 17th September 1612. Thomas Bate, one of the first Common Council, was buried 31st January 1614-15; John Hunt, another burgess on the first roll, 16th April 1616; and Symon Johnson, a fellow Councillor, 23rd July 1616.

The period of the Stuarts was the acme of the so-called art of Astrology in England, of whom one of the foremost was William Lilly, who was consulted by Charles I respecting his escape from Carisbrooke Castle. A well-known professor of this pretended science, named John à Wind-sor, is mentioned by Lilly as one of his acquaintance,

living in Newbury, where he also carried on the business of a scrivener. He died in 1619, and was buried in Newbury Churchyard, where his tomb formerly existed, and appears to have been specially cared for.

Mr. Roger Weston, a famous clothier, was buried 29th September 1620. The burial of Mr. Thomas Godard, Mayor, one of the first burgesses of the Charter, who died during his year of office, is recorded in 1621; and the same year that of William Camber, another of the first burgesses. Gabriel Coxe, one of the first-named Aldermen of the borough, was buried 15th May 1624; and the following 9th December, Frances Twisse, the wife of Dr. Twisse, Rector, in whose handwriting the entry appears. Richard Chieffe, another of the first burgesses, was buried in 1626.

In 1631 the name of Mr. Thomas Millington, who died possessed of a rental estate worth £2,000 *per annum*, and personal property to the value of £60,000, is added to the burial-roll. As the property was in some way not legally disposed of, many claimants set up a right to it. The depositions and view of the state of the evidence on the case were privately printed in 1676, and many extracts from the Newbury Parish Registers are given, and particulars relating to the Millington, Denison, Bourchier and Taylor families.

On the 16th May 1627, John Camber, one of the original burgesses, was buried; and his colleagues, John Barksdale and his brother Thomas, were buried 27th May 1629, and 9th October 1635. The Rev. George Widley, Rector, a native of Berkshire, and an eminent preacher of his time, was buried on 1st October 1641, and on 25th May 1644, Mr. Kingsmill Long.

A very tragic story is connected with the names of Major Stewart (buried 16th December 1645) and Lieut.-Colonel Smith, buried on the 20th of the same month. Major Stewart commanded, for the Parliament, the Kentish Regiment of Horse, quartered in the neighbourhood of Newbury. He shot with his own hand, in a skirmish, Lieut.-Colonel Smith, who was Colonel in Sir Humphrey Bennett's brigade of horse. To revenge Smith's death, Sir John Boys, Governor of Donnington

Castle, with a party of his men, surprised Major Stewart as he was sitting by the side of his intended bride at a supper party in the house of Mr. Roger Knight of Greenham Manor, near the church ; and the Major was shot dead on the spot. Both officers were buried in the church : Colonel Smith in the chancel.

On the 24th October 1655, the very singular circumstance occurred of husband and wife being buried at the same time in the same grave ; but no explanation is given whether the cause of death was accident or otherwise. The persons named in the Register as having thus departed together are "Timmothy Kent and his wife". One or more of this family were among the original settlers at Newbury in Massachusetts, and resided on an island there, which still bears the name, and where their descendants are still worthily represented.

In 1657 Compton Tichborne was buried ; and the same year Mrs. Joane Slococke, which is the first mention of the name in the Register.

In 1659 "Timmothy Manings, a wooman, was buried." Jas. Head, chief Newbury representative of this Berkshire family, a faithful royalist, was buried 15 Jan. 1660, a few months before the Restoration. 3rd Jan. 1661, a "Rumbelow" Lovelock was buried. This Christian name is a favourite burden of the Cornwall "Furry-Day" song, "With halantow rumbelow". Gabriel Coxe was Mayor in 1598, another Gabriel Coxe in 1643. His father, Gabriel, was Mayor in 1635, and died in 1638. The son filled the office in 1643, 1651, part of 1661, and 1667, and was buried in the church, 24 Feb. 1671.

9 Aug. 1678 was laid to rest "Margreat James, the first that was buried in Woollen"; Rev. Benj. Woodbridge, Nonconformist, buried 4 Nov. 1684 ; in 1693, Barthol. Hughes, Mayor, died during office ; in 1697, Capt. Peter Blackberry, an officer quartered in the town ; in Feb. 1719, Rich. Cowlade, benefactor to this town. On 27 Feb. 1719, "The Gapan boy" or "Jeppan boy", a native of Japan, probably attached to a travelling company. Rev. John Hinton, Rector, buried 23 Apr. 1720 ; in the same year occurs William Pen. In 1730, Edw. Lovelock, Mayor, was buried. He bequeathed to St. Mary's Charity

the corner house of Mansion House Street, which had belonged to the Chantry of St. Mary in Newbury Church. In 1744 was buried Capt. Peter Burgoyne, or Burgeane, of Frampton's foot regiment; and Joseph Toomer, a leading man of the borough. In Dec. 1749, the wife of Samuel Slocock, of West Mills, was buried. A few minutes before death she appeared in the best of health and spirits, but dropped down dead on rising from the dinner-table. In 1769 there was buried in the Church Garden, Rev. Thos. Penrose, Rector, distinguished for assiduity, and admired for his eloquence. On 14 June 1774, Rev. John Gere, LL.B., Fellow of Winchester College, whose portrait is in the vestry, was buried. 28 January 1780, "Robert Keens, 108 years", a porter in the Corn Market till within a few days of his death. 30 Mar. 1783, "George Mundy died of a lockt jaw by tread<sup>s</sup> on a gard<sup>n</sup> rake"; July 1784, "Benjamin, son of Joseph Challis, died from drinking scalding tea out of a tea pot, wh<sup>ch</sup> bro<sup>t</sup> on inflammation in the throat."

Between 10 Dec. 1787 and 26 Apr. 1788, forty deaths are recorded from small-pox in Newbury. On 13 June 1789, John Townsend, Alderman and Justice, was buried. March 1793 was buried John Kimber, founder of Kimber's Almshouses. 19 Feb. 1799 there was buried in the church, with military honours, Jas. Leishman, Quartermaster of 15th, or King's Regiment of Dragoons, the oldest Quartermaster in the army, and who had seen distinguished service in the field. As his epitaph declares :

"A truer soldier to his King and laws  
Ne'er braved the field, nor fought in Honour's cause."

On the 18th June 1800, the burial-entry of an old sailor, William Jones, is accompanied by the information that he was ninety years of age; for fifty years a pensioner of Greenwich Hospital, and during that time had received upwards of £400.

Under date of 20th of September 1801, there is the following sad record: "Harriett Emmet, aged nineteen, who died from Excessive grief, commonly called Broken heart." Dr. Robert Scott, a brilliant young physician, was buried 27th February 1807. He died suddenly,

through the rupture of a blood-vessel, at the age of thirty-one; and there is a monument to his memory in the church. An aged almsman, Richard Gough, was buried 25th March 1811, being in his one-hundredth year at the time of his death. On 13th February 1809, Mr. Edward Withers, banker and Senior Alderman, aged eighty-five, was buried. Mr. John Hasker, Senior Alderman, was buried, 23rd January 1814; Mr. John King, Attorney-at-Law, 30th December, the same year. In Waterloo year, 1815, Arabella Georgiana, daughter of Charles and Elizabeth Hopkinson, of Cadogan Place, London, aged fourteen, was buried in the church. Elizabeth Leishman, widow of the veteran Quartermaster, was buried 15th June 1816; on 15th January 1817, William Jasper, an old inhabitant.

As mentioned in the *History of Newbury* (1887, pp. 378-379), the town of Newbury formerly possessed a theatre where many of the theatrical celebrities of the Georgian era performed, and which for several years was under the management of Mr. Barnett, whose company also regularly visited Reading, Gosport, Guildford and Ryde. Previous to the erection of the theatre at Speenhamland, in 1802, the old playhouse was in Northcroft Lane, on a site now occupied by the Temperance Hall. More than one of these wandering Thespians lie unrecorded in the green plot of the old churchyard; and in "the abstract and brief chronicles" of the Parish Registers are simply described as sojourners in the town, so it is difficult to identify them. But in the entry of burial of Joseph Keeley, 8th March 1817, we have no difficulty in recognising a former well-known actor in the provinces, who at one time was a great favourite at the old Ipswich Theatre.

The same year (1817), on the 17th October, was buried in the family vault an old townsman of character and standing in the borough, Mr. Samuel Toomer, Senior Alderman, aged eighty-one. He was for some time in partnership with Mr. William Blandy, in the bar-iron trade, which was carried on in the Market-Place before the removal of the general ironmongery business to Northbrook Street, on the site of the "Old Crown Inn".

Mr. Toomer was for some years a partner in the Old Bank. He was also a famous fisherman, and had several trout in his "Stew" weighing fifteen pounds and upwards.

Thomas Merriman, one of the last of the old stock in this town, aged eighty-five, was buried 27th October 1820. On 6th April 1824, Peter Walsh, the popular and jovial Quartermaster of the 1st Berks Regiment of Cavalry, was interred with full military honours. Mr. John Beale, aged ninety-one, a prominent citizen, was buried 5th February 1825; and the following 15th July, his colleague, Mr. Benjamin Hawkins, aged seventy. In 1826, Mr. Thomas Lloyd, of St. Mary's Hill, aged eighty-seven, was buried 29th June; and on 3rd July following, John Winterbottom, M.D., of Newbury and East Woodhay, aged sixty-eight. On the 11th August, the Rev. W. Dupré, who lived at Snelsmore. An aged lady, Mary Ann Ladd, was buried 2nd March 1827, aged ninety-seven; and Mr. John Barnes on the 24th of the same month, aged sixty-two. John Boycott was buried 3rd April following, aged eighty. In 1831 Mr. Samuel Slocock, Senior Alderman, aged eighty-four; and the following year, William Plenty, the engineer, of lifeboat fame, on the anniversary of Waterloo, aged seventy-three. A case of suspected cholera is recorded with the burial of George Darnell of the 2nd Battalion, 60th Rifles, 18th August 1832. On 22nd July 1833, Sophia, wife of the Rev. James Roe, Rector, was buried, aged seventy-four. The burial-roll of 1834 includes the name of Thomas Edmonds, sexton or gravedigger at the church, a well-known character; and at last,

"What he for others did,  
The same for him was done."

On the 14th July 1838, the worthy Rector for forty-one years, the Rev. James Roe, aged eighty, was buried in the "Church Garden", at the east end of the chancel, the Rev. H. Majendie, Vicar of Speen, being the officiating minister. During the whole of this long period the Registers were fairly transcribed in the beautiful handwriting of Mr. Roe, who made most admirable indices of all the current volumes,—a work of the greatest value and service, which we regret has not been continued.



The burial-ground attached to the parish church was closed against interments, except in certain vaults, by order of the Secretary of State, under the provisions of 16 and 17 Vict., chap. 134, and a cemetery was provided for the parish. The church portion of the ground was consecrated by Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford, on Easter Tuesday, 2nd April 1850.

In the second volume of the Registers there is a list of offenders against ecclesiastical discipline, excluded from the church by excommunication; and an example of the severity with which the Church in former times maintained its authority by compelling notorious delinquents to do public penance occurred in Newbury Church so late as the year 1700, when this punishment was strictly enforced on a person named Dod; but his offence is not recorded. The sum of 2s. 6d. was paid to the apparitor (an officer of the Bishop's Court) for summoning Dod to appear; and it is therefore most probable that this public penance was performed at a visitation of the Bishop or Archdeacon. The two latest instances of public penance in England occurred at Bristol in 1812, and Ditton, Cambridgeshire, in 1849.

The same volume also contains a list of persons sent from Newbury to London, "to be "totch for y<sup>e</sup> evil", between 22nd February 1685-6, and 7th May 1688. As is well known, this practice of touching by the reigning sovereign for scrofula, or the disease popularly called "The King's Evil", was of very ancient origin.

There is a long list of *Briefs* entered in one of the Registers, or Letters Patent issued by the Sovereign, authorising the collection of alms for specific works of charity, and read in church after the Nicene Creed. They were abolished by 9 Geo. IV, c. 28, in 1828.

In the Register, 1783-98, the following memorandum is written :

"Newbury, October 1767, to January 1768.—In an account taken by the Clerk of the Parish, of the Inhabitants, there appeared to be 3,732. This was taken from house to house, after the decline of that raging distemper, the small-pox, of which died 100 in the months of October and November. 1,090 had the small-pox, of which 120 died."

At this point we must draw our somewhat extended miscellaneous selections from these illustrative and time-worn old volumes to a close; and in doing so we may remark that the Registers of this town, unlike those of many other places, are almost solely confined to the practical purpose for which they were instituted, viz., to contain entries of baptisms, marriages and burials. There are in them few records of any notable occurrence, names of preachers on special occasions, epithets or descriptions attaching to those whose names are entered, or licences to persons to eat flesh in Lent, when, if we may trust the evidence of Taylor the "Water Poet", the trade of the butchers was at a standstill for six weeks before Easter. While, however, we regret the absence of such often amusing notes and comments, there is no desire to underrate the value of these ancient records, preserved with such jealous care by our predecessors, which speak not only in the language of their day, but are indispensable to the chronicler of the past, and invaluable to the biographer and local historian. They have also been for a long time the only public documents in existence for determining questions of inheritance; for the Heralds' visitations were restricted to the gentry, and discontinued in the seventeenth century. No one, therefore, will now dispute the necessity of some stringent enactment to secure the safe custody and preservation of the existing Parish Registers throughout the country, many of which are daily perishing before our eyes almost without attempt to perpetuate their contents. With an earnest wish that some well-devised scheme may be formulated either for printing these national records *in extenso*, together with the transcripts or duplicates remaining in the Bishops' Registries, or that they may be securely deposited in general Registries of their respective counties, we take leave of these simple annals, in whose pages riches and poverty, beauty and deformity, stand side by side,—

"No flattery here, where to be born and die  
Of rich and poor is all the history.  
Enough if virtue filled the space between,  
Proved by the ends of being to have been."



## SOME HITHERTO LITTLE-NOTICED EARTHWORKS IN BRITAIN.

BY DR. PHENÉ, F.S.A.

(*Read at the Stoke-upon-Trent Congress, August 10th, 1895.*)



THE term Britain is adopted instead of England, to do away with the subsequent subdivision of the country into counties and shires; as the times in which the earthworks about to be referred to were formed were antecedent to such subdivision.

So long a period had elapsed before notice is recorded of any of the great works in this country belonging to a pre-Christian era, which now occupy the minds of archaeologists, that some have assumed, from their standpoint of knowledge, that being unmentioned was evidence of their not having been in existence in early times; forgetting that, if of recent formation, a reason for their existence, and the resources for and conditions of their construction would be within the reach of the inquirer: as, for instance, in the case of the two Roman walls in the north and, later on, of Offa's Dyke in the south-west.

While it is at least surprising that no record or tradition, except of the most vague and unstable kind, attaches even to the vast lithic structure of Stonehenge, equally impressive monuments of the same vast dimensions in Brittany, the Vosges, Scandinavia, and other parts of Europe seem to be unaccompanied by *any* traditions whatever.

If, then, such gigantic stone monuments attracted *no* attention, it is less surprising that earthworks should have remained equally unnoticed.

It is now evident that the whole of this wonderful and beautiful island contains an illustrated, though not a written, history, of occupation, of production of articles

of commerce, of skilful engineering, and of works of art of an antiquity little anticipated, when inquirers began to apply the terms Roman and British, Druidic and Teutonic or Belgic, and Danish or Scandinavian, Pictish, and Gallic or Keltic, to either the lithic or earthen constructions in this country.

An antiquity in some cases intensely remote ; showing, perhaps one may venture to assume, a civilisation of a kind, comprehending at least commerce, maritime traffic, great trade industries, metallurgy, road-making, etc., proving the highways of commerce to have existed at a period as far back as those grand and mysterious civilisations of India, Assyria and Egypt, which this age is now only beginning, not to believe in, but to know, from their writings, arts, and commerce, their mental aspirations and majestic poems, gradually unfolded to us by the archaeology of the nineteenth century, revealing cultured taste and art, as existing in the hoary past of six or seven thousand years ago.

When the minds of inquirers turned to the examination of these mysterious works of ancient art, it was natural that the largest and most imposing received the readiest attention : so much so that to the present time works of no very great extent have been entirely overlooked, while others are only known locally, and from their apparent insignificance are hardly ever referred to.

If indeed these were miniatures of the larger similar works, there would not be much interest in them beyond the fact that, as the larger ones were constructed under some special demand which regulated their dimensions, the diminutive proportions of the others may have been due to causes quite as clear to their constructors, and for purposes quite as special as any which caused the formation of the larger works of their kind.

But this point involves a great deal, and with the knowledge of the history and habits of some at least of the pre-Christian people who occupied certain localities in Britain, an approach to some of the purposes, other than those of simple defence, may be attained.

The term "pre-Christian" does not necessarily imply a very remote date. That is to say, there are Roman

works in this country some of which are probably of a date antecedent to our era, and some of which are undoubtedly later by centuries; and yet, so far as the constructors were concerned, in their purposes, habits and religion were pre-Christian, *i.e.*, they were constructed by persons who had not changed their faith nor their pagan customs, and therefore though within the Christian period of history, were made by persons of pre-Christian worship and custom, and as much for pre-Christian purposes as if constructed decades before their time. There are other Roman works again, in this country, which undoubtedly have been constructed by Christianised Romans.

It is not intended to treat of Roman matters at all, but as the popular mind so long looked on everything of great age in this country as Roman, a distinction in the dates and purposes of *Roman works* will be more apparent than in those of other nations; and once recognised, they will be seen to apply to other nations also, where there is any reason to suppose that foreign or invading people were either occasional visitants or permanent settlers in these islands.

Apart from a general Gallic immigration into South Britain from the Continent, which Cæsar not only shows *had long preceded his time*, but also correctly describes some of the nations so coming here—as in the case of the Belgæ, giving their places of settlement and their occupations—there were clearly other nations here, as shown by the wide distinction now known of their names and customs from those of the Belgæ. Cæsar inquired of the merchants, what were the *nations* who inhabited Britain? showing there were *other nations*; though the merchants refused, under the plea of ignorance, to give him their names or number. But even as to the Belgæ themselves, there has been a wholesale conclusion that all the settlers in the south were of this people; while in describing some of them Cæsar simply states that they came *from the country of the Belgæ*, so that they may have been immigrants from distant countries into Britain, as can now clearly be shown: such immigrants coming through the territory of the

Belgae without necessarily being of that nation, nor even having immanency with them.

But, further, the various names of the nations or tribes who were borderers on the south side of the Channel, and who were in alliance with, and some of whom were related to, the nation of the Veneti, an Asiatic people settled in Western Gaul, the war with whom was the initiating cause of the invasion of Britain,<sup>1</sup> indicate examples of other than Gallic nationalities.

If, then, this occurs to only a slight extent in the nations of the South, the certainty that competing nations (wishing to follow their pursuits without opposition to or from the numerous Gallic settlers of the South), visited the east coast, penetrated further inland than the Belgic settlers, formed settlements, and pursued commerce, follows.

So persistent indeed were these warlike traders (who were clearly referred to by Cæsar when he describes the south-eastern part of Britain as markedly commercial), that on the settlement of the Romans becoming permanent, they had to establish a distinct military body, whose functions were to guard the coasts to the south and east, and that exclusively, from warlike visitants.

The deception practised on Cæsar by the great congress of trading merchants summoned by him, in their assumption that the interior of Britain was not known, shows distinctly a desire to conceal from the world's conqueror the inner resources of the island, so that their traffic should not be disturbed or appropriated by the Roman armies:—Cæsar himself admitting the mercantile traffic, and, as just stated, questioning them as to the *various nations* who inhabited the island, though unsuccessfully—for his purpose. That he was studiously deceived appears from his statement derived from them, that the *tin* came from the *Midland* regions, which therefore were known; it is probable that some of it did, and from *this locality*, but the mass of it came from Cornwall.

The vast territory of the Iceni indicates that the eastern rivers, the Thames, the Ouse, etc., were trading

<sup>1</sup> See my Paper in the *Journal*, March, 1878, p. 37.

rivers, in their midst, and the Iceni were not a Gallic people. They dealt largely in metals, were importers of bronze goods, and had a gold coinage in early Roman times, if not indeed prior to Cæsar's coming. That this trade of eastern merchants must have been with the Baltic is apparent, and that it was in later times perpetuated by Scandinavian visitants, equally warlike, and often commercial, that is, with the settlers in Britain of their own or allied people, is so powerfully demonstrated, that to this day the Scandinavian blood is a marked feature in the Midland and northern counties.

The occupation by some such people seems distinctly pre-Roman. There is therefore good ground for concluding that some of the earthworks in central Britain are not only pre-Christian, but even pre-Roman in date.

This being so, we may look with interest on the habits and customs of people who settled here, and whose descendants have maintained their position; and those customs may help, in no slight degree, to explain some of the works which abound in this and the adjoining counties.

The great camps for defence, as well as the *oppida*, are—except in some rare cases where seclusion was a main object—found on elevations, sometimes of great height, which in many instances has saved them from the plough.

The circular and oval camps, mostly classed as British, to distinguish them from the more rectangular camps of the Romans, would be more properly distinguished by bearing the names (where recorded) of the people settled in their respective localities, not necessarily Gaulic or Keltic races.

From careful inspection of the camps of the Welsh, or West British people, the fact is clear that they were much less regularly constructed than such works as the great circular embankments in the south of England; which latter extend westward to the Severn and the Bristol Channel. Crossing which, near Cardiff, are stone structures of grand dimensions, and near these, not on elevations but at low levels are, *apparently*, without arranged location, several smaller circles of earthen embankments.

*Apparently*, because they can only be judged of from what now remains ; but that the sites were systematically selected at the time of construction can hardly be doubted.

This group is referred to, far as it is from this district, because it is rare to find several, indeed, more than one, of such small circles in any particular locality ; and also because I prefer to select ground traversed by the Association. It is clear they were not formed for defence. Were they, one camp of the necessary size would, as is more commonly the case, have been made, and made according to the usual rule, on an elevation.

So far from that, they are not only on comparatively low ground, but are not even on level ground ; but some are more or less on sloping ground, an additional evidence that they were not camps for defence ; that they were not places for secretion, as the interiors can be seen from adjacent land ; and their height is too slight to secure even the smaller kinds of cattle.

The positions ; size, which is about uniform ; symmetry, which exhibits care ; and other features, indicate a settled purpose and a pre-considered intention ; their localisation near the great lithic structures speaks plainly of the constructors of the one class of monuments having been the constructors of the other.

If these people can in any way be identified, a reference to their customs, if attainable, would greatly assist in showing their purpose in forming such works ; and if there is no record of their customs, a careful study of the monuments and their surroundings might indicate some of them, so far as they refer to these earthworks.

But indications are not wanting. The symmetrical construction of the large earthen encampments, which extend all along the South of England from east to west, has been referred to. They indicate a systematic purpose, similar constructors, care and ability. They are not hastily thrown-up works, as some of those which must have been formed by the West British, or Welsh, appear to have been.

The constructors were people of no slight engineering practice for their age, and considering the means within their reach. They were constructors of stone and earthen



monuments alike. This does not always follow, and is, in some cases of course, governed by the materials afforded by different localities.

Notwithstanding the destruction of both classes of monuments, of earth and stone—from necessity, as in agricultural pursuits; from adaptibility to more modern structures, in building, drain and road making, and other purposes—enough of both classes of these works still remains to indicate a special people, extending, either by settlement, road traffic, or probably by both, from Kent to Cardiff: the stone monuments in Kent, and at or near Cardiff, being identical in dimension and arrangement.

It is surprising how very few antiquaries know anything of the lithic monuments of Kent beyond the one familiar to so many, viz., "Kits Koity House." But for a long distance, from Maidstone to Ightham, these stone monuments still exist, in a more or less perfect condition, accompanied by tumuli, camps, truncated hills and other earthworks, some of the latter being of the class of the small circular works already mentioned. There are strong indications that these are only fragments of a continuous course of monuments like those from Brest to Marseilles, and perhaps by the same people.

These works are, year by year, fading away. Here and there, a cultivator encroaches a little and a little each year. I am thankful that my investigations were made many years ago, and have been continued since, but for which I should have increased difficulty in tracing these very interesting relics of the past.

Winchester has both kinds of these monuments: the stone structures illustrated by Dr. Milner, in his *History of Winchester*, being now carefully preserved on the premises of the Roman Catholic clergyman, where the fidelity of the illustrations can be seen from the originals. I was fortunate enough, when there at the Congress, to be taken by one of the Cathedral clergy to an enclosure of part of a former common, now, as I understood, happily preserved, in consequence of the existence of one of the small circular earthworks identical with those near the stone structures near Cardiff; and so

through Wiltshire and Somersetshire to the Bristol Channel.

But, along this highway of traffic in pre-Roman times, a special people can be traced by the names they bore, varied a little by the dialects of some districts.

Upon this point, *so far as their descendants went*, there is ancient literary testimony ; and even were this not within our reach, the great highway of this people is still existing, and is known all along its course by the *same name*, which, unlike that of the people themselves, has not even changed its phonetic character.

I am strongly convinced that many words now considered Welsh are really from the language of these people. They may be classed as "British", but not Welsh, nor Keltic, nor Gaelic—British, as found in Britain, but early Scandinavian, to use a *modern term*: which words have their variants as the route along this road is pursued, and are traceable by their variants.

But the same highway of traffic had its off-shoots, its bifurcations, and its junctions with other pre-Roman highways of traffic, of foreign settlers, and foreign traders ; some of which passed northwards and westwards, and traversed the districts now known as the Midland Counties. Several of these roads are described in my Paper read at the Congress at Manchester last August.

Along these roads these small circles are to be found ; there is one very central one in particular, not far over the Staffordshire border ; and this one, which I was able to trace many years ago (although I did not then understand its or their historical value), was situated amidst large lithic arrangements which have, at different periods and by different persons, been ascribed, sometimes to artificial, sometimes to natural causes, sometimes to both, which is very probable ; but in any case the small earthen circle was, like those already mentioned, in the neighbourhood of grand stone surroundings, and its location was clearly intimately connected with such impressive lithic features.

Again, in this case it could neither have been a camp from its size, nor from its position, as the natural rocks of the locality would afford more security and defence

than a simple earthwork, and its interior could easily have been commanded.

Perhaps this solitary relic, amidst these impressive natural surroundings, conveys more than the group of similar constructions near Cardiff.

It is at least nearer to this locality, and must have been produced for very special reasons; the selection of its position was clearly a studied one. It is unaffected by the great camps in this locality.

Before stating the conclusions to which my careful examination has led, it may be well to note some of the features accompanying the courses of these ancient ways.

The traditions are curious and very similar. They probably refer to antagonism of beliefs, or to the insignia used by dominant people.

The nomenclature indicates matters connected with routes of traffic, including the use of the horse, and sometimes the chariot, and distinguishing places of rest and of exchange. At greater or less distances from the route are vast camps and military earthworks, sometimes accompanied by signs and objects visible at great distances, and capable of being used as signals, or, in other words, for telegraphic communication.

Relics of art and occupation have been found at intervals along the routes, and bearing similar features.

Certain names indicate the importance of the routes. Thus, in one case is found "The Devil's Highway", in another "The King's Highway": modern phrases clearly conveying to us ancient traditionary titles.

(The term "Devil's", as applied to such works, having been pretty generally used by an illiterate population, to cover anything beyond the usual conception in the one case; and by more informed persons to indicate the works of pagans by those who had embraced Christianity in the other.)

To give an example of the change of names by local peasantry and Saxon populations, while retaining similar phonetic features, reference may be made to a very remarkable district near the great East and West road already referred to, which district I re-surveyed after commencing this paper, for corroboration of former

observations published by me in the *Oxford University Herald* in 1890.

First, as regards the term "Highway". This term has become familiar in recent times from its being generally applied to main public thoroughfares. But in ancient times it implied a royal road, or, at least, a roadway for knightly progress, cavalry, and pageant processions. Such ways were, moreover, sacred, as being dedicated to the deities of the people who made them, and were undoubtedly used for religious as well as military processions and other purposes, as "The King's Way", "The King's Highway".

That they were such is seen from the highest sources of literature; and that they referred to *elevated* ways as *high ways*, i.e., ways which, from their lofty positions, would exhibit such processions and military spectacles, is clear from the following:—

"I will make all my *mountains* a way, and my *highways* shall be *exalted*." "Cast ye up, cast ye up, prepare the way." "Cast up, cast up, the *highway*." "Lift up a standard for the people."

There is a marked distinction between the "highway" and the "way of the people", as though the "standard for the people" would be carried processionally on the "highway" to be seen by the people. This is strongly expressed in "an *highway* shall be there, and a way, and it shall be called the way of holiness; the unclean (the ordinary person) shall not pass over it". "The wayfaring men, though fools, shall not err therein" (i.e., shall not trespass).

Almost every highway now existing in this country, certainly near towns, answers this description of the highway for equestrians and the side causeways for the people: a method retained from the most ancient times.

The Foss way is one of the very ancient ways in this country, with such raised way between two causeways. The Persian road to Susa was so formed, and the sacred road to the older capital of Japan, leading to the temples, is so at the present day.

A fine piece of ancient engineering, from the temple of Diana, at Ephesus, to the height above the temple, is

another example of such ancient sacred ways. It indicates that an earlier temple stood on the summit. The later temple was at the base of the mount. And the way of the Branchidae, to the temple of Apollo Didymeus, the statues from which are in the British Museum, is another. There is also a fine example at Mykenae. This form of road appears to have been general in the East. They were always, independently of their other uses, public approaches to places of worship: as Thursfield (Thor's field) in Staffordshire, Thorn Hill (Thor's hill) in Oxon, and Tor or Tower Hill (Thor's hill) in Berkshire; all near the *Ridge or high ways* of the respective localities.

The raised serpentine roads of Egypt were the means of communication during the inundations of the Nile. A raised road so like them at Elm, near Wisbeach, of great antiquity, indicates a construction by Oriental immigrants.

There is a place called the Ridgeway in Staffordshire, near Norton; and near the Ridgeway of the south, running by the east and west way just referred to, is Högg or Hoke Norton, purely Scandinavian names—Högg being an abbreviation of the old Norske Högg, Ormer or Serpent.

The word Norton always indicates an occupation by Norwegians, not by Danes; and the word is frequent here.

Where the Ridgeway ceases in Berkshire a long and rich valley lies to the east, and from this valley a rapid rise takes place, and the way up this ascent is called the "Devil's Highway". It is nearly obliterated, but I found, buried in some brushwood, a portion of it.

It is 90 ft. wide, a lofty barrel road between two well-defined causeways, and leads directly to a vast camp corresponding to those along the Ridgeway, which continue thence to Cerne Abbas in Dorsetshire. By it was an old settlement of the people whose name is perpetuated in the long east and west road already mentioned; and by this way, here and there, west from Winchester, are the small circles, certainly not camps, nor needed as such, as large camps abound.

The other way, "The King's Highway", is celebrated

as the Icenic way to the Isle of Ely, a stronghold of the Icenic—starting from the fort called Bel-sar's Hill, the hill of Bal or Bel, where it crossed the river Ouse. William the Norman was unable to take the Isle of Ely till he found this ancient way, then reduced to a ford, and even as a ford it was forgotten. Both these so-called "highways" are on the same line of way from Cornwall to the Icenic ports and strongholds.

That these circles were made by the people on this route seems clear; and if words and names are evidence, the same people constructed the large camps of this locality, and the small circle in Derbyshire referred to.

It will be well to note some place-names, showing that the names along the great east and west road which intersected Watling Street are similar to some of those in this district. That great road led onto the metal districts of Devon and Cornwall, and the Derby district was also metalliferous, lead and tin works and mines being referred to in early histories. The names seem to have been brought either by metal procurers—perhaps mining was not necessary, the outcrops producing the amount their traffic required—or by the smelters, traders, and assayers. Crucibles having been found along the routes I have mentioned, it may be also that the fine clay of this district was sought as an article of commerce for making them, as they were of much importance.

Amongst many other names (this being only an approximate tabulation), are in Derbyshire, Wormhill or Ormhill, the Serpent hill, with other similar names mentioned in my Paper read at the Congress last August at Manchester: Offerton, Offley, the Grecized form of the same word, and probably used alike by the Phœnician traders and the traders along the highway just mentioned.

I have found in Norway the Norske word Orm, and the Latin Vermes in the same place, both indicating the serpent, a former Scandinavian deity. Elton, Elaston, Elford and Elmton—El being the term for the Deity in Eastern languages—and abounding in the south-west counties east of Cornwall, and with variants all along the way to the Icenic country; you have it in Beth-El, house of *God*. Aston, in El-aston, Saxonised from Aster, a star, or

Κασσιπα, the Sanscrit for brightness : whence Κασσίτερος, tin. Balidon, Batterley, Balsover, Bellemond—the word Bal being still used in Cornwall for mining deposits. Högnaston, in Derbyshire, the Högg Norton, near Oxford, having already been mentioned, and Högington, now Oakington, near Cambridge. Högg Ormer, meaning serpent, thus abbreviated in Hög Naston, it would equal the bright or shining serpent ; while Ormskirk, in Lancashire, is the temple of the serpent, with a modern translated final.

Great Longstone, in Derbyshire, has its equivalent in Long Stanton, near Cambridge, in the country of the Icen ; the Long Stone of exchange in the Isle of Wight, called Mottestone, where the Saxon motes were afterwards held, and which was the place where the exchange of tin took place till recently ; and the *pierre longue*, or Long Stone, on an island in the mouth of the Loire, also a well-known place for exchange of tin, formerly the Liger, clearly the river of the Ligurians.

The Ligurians were, from the nature of their early settlements, hunters, and became collectors of, and dealers in, furs and skins, as the ancient Ligurian word “ corio”, and the old Latin “ corium”, indicate. In their own country they bore its name, as people of Liguria, but in trading were known as the Corians or Coritani : a purely Italian word. Issuing from the Liger they had trading ports on their north and south, Coruna in Spain, and the Corrisopitan people in western Gaul, both probably being their colonies. Their great trade there is shown from the fleet of the Veneti being *furnished with sails of preserved or tanned skins*. Hence the colony in Britain, the Coritani, the people of Corinium, and the many trading ports in Europe and Asia, as Cora, Corinth, Corfu, Corleone, Corsica, Cortona, Coruña, Cordova, Corèze, etc. ; and in Britain, Cora, Corium, Corinium, were named, as also Corycus, Corna, Corasiae, etc.

Old Italian words are still found near these settlements in Britain, as *Larg*, near Cora, Cupola, a cuplike hollow in a hill-side, not as an inverted cup, or turret-top, proving the antiquity of the word by its original, not its mediæval, meaning.

The latter word occurs near a very remarkable place on Hathersage Moor, in Derbyshire, where the Carl Wark, from the Ligurian work, *carlóna*—coarsely—as applied to rude stone structures, indicates another settlement of these people, a wall of Etrurian or *emplecton* masonry once being its prominent feature.

The ash was a sacred tree with the Scandinavians, and the word abounds in the place-names about here : Ashford, Ashborne, Ashley, Money Ash, etc. It also abounds all along these ways.

Islington, in Derbyshire and Middlesex, Isleworth, Islip, etc. Rolleston, Royston, Royston, Rollright.

Staffordshire itself is clearly the Icelandic *stafr*, or staff, as the island of Staffa is from the staff or columnar basalt, called by Icelanders staff rock (Staffa Kelttur); while Stoke is from the Icelandic *stokkr*, a stock or stake, which in general purposes was used for stirring fires—whence the modern word “stoker”—amongst other fires those of the metal smelters; and was also used for a stem or stump of a tree. Hence I found in Norway, Stoken, a place where the cross was fixed in the ground by St. Olaf, as perpetuated by the local traditions. The ash tree was probably cultivated for stirring or stoking the fires, and the word ash—the dust—was from the burnt ash.

It would take some hours to describe the many assimilating names along these roads, and the localities they traversed.

I will give one or two more referring to the roads themselves. Along by the south camps is the Ridgeway, or high road, in the sense of lofty; at its foot is the great east and west road referred to. You have also here the Ridgeway, between Endon and Thursfield, that is, in or between the hill or dune, and Thursfield—the place sacred to Thor; but in this case the identity is given, which is gained from the surroundings in Berkshire. Thus, Ridware, Riber, Riddar, the connection with the Teutonic *ritter*, rider, originated ridgeway, and probably originated the word ridge, and not ridge it.

The local word in these counties is “edge”, Icelandic, *egg*; but in the vicinity of former places of Scandinavian



worship, that is, places of sufficient importance to have a "hof", or temple, being associated with the ruling knights or ritters, the two words have been run into one; and edge and ritter, or the Icelandic *riða*, have been amalgamated in ridge, "the Ritter's edge."

"Odin's" mine, in Derbyshire, shows very early Scandinavian occupation. Madeley, Maddingly, Sandon, Sandwich—or wick—Sandyford, Sandyfiord in Norway, and a host of others.

These names, it will be borne in mind, are given as indications of the presence of the same people who trafficked all along that great east and west way, which you have probably long since identified as the Icknield way. The people at the east end of this great way, usually called the Icenii, were, it is clear, from the unchanging phonetic name of the way itself, more properly the Ic eni, whence Icknield. They are found all along this route as Ic-eii, Wick-ii, Wic-ii, etc., and evidently gave the name Ictis or Vectis to the Isle of Wight, or then probably Wik or Wick, a great emporium for tin and other metals till almost the last century.

I am not aware that any meaning has been given to the name either of this way, or of the people who used and probably made it; but Wik and Ic, or Ik, abound along it and its connections.

This word is clearly Greek, and may have been used by the Punic people as well as the Ic-eni. The Greek *ἵκνυς* is a way, and *ἐκένν* is "to go back", from the root *Wik*, to separate. Sanscrit, *vinch*, to separate: a term which would apply exactly to both the people themselves, their calling and their customs, and to the way also.

The people, as appears from the place-names at certain posts of exchange on the way, carried their goods for traffic to appointed places, where they deposited them or exchanged them; and they were then taken forward by other carriers, the two parties *separating* and pursuing their respective journeys *back*. They also separated, as analysts, the metal from the dross by smelting, and the furnaces can be traced in many places.

The road or way also separated, or, as the French put

it, bifurcated, where other great pre-Roman roads intersected.

On such grounds the national name of these people is not identified. They were named after their calling as analytic smelters and district carriers, but their customs were probably kindred to the people of the Baltic, the settlers on the north and west borders of which were subsequently called Scandinavians.

That there was an overland river route of commercial intercourse between Italy and ancient Britain, there seems now no room to doubt; and, unusual as the name is, there are some indications that such people originated in Italy as carriers.

Etruria was the greatest local market in Italy for metal, and in particular for tin, for making bronze. Close on to its northern borders, where the traders would wait to exchange their wares, similar names occur, and *only there*, such as Scanno, Scansano, Scandiano. I had previously traced these traders to this part of Italy, purely by the place-names which abound along the routes from Cornwall to Etruria. There is apparently no authentic origin given of the Scandinavians, or whence they came.

The Swedes appear Teutonic, the Danes Goths, but the Northmen with whom the names of Scania and Scandia seem to start are neither one nor the other. They have all the characteristics of Asiatics of Mysia, with their good build, blue eyes, and fair hair, who would not unnaturally migrate in the first instance to the Italian shores. Scandia and Scandiano are so identical that the probability is strong for a very early and long pre-Roman commercial occupation by these Greco-Latin people, who, driven from Britain by the Romans, settled northwards of the Swedes and Danish Goths, and were thence termed Northmen, and more recently Norwegians. This would account for the historical tradition of the use of Greek letters in Britain.

Now it is in Norway and its offshoot, Iceland, that are found precisely similar small circular earthworks which are known not to have been camps. They are not unfrequently in the vicinity of ancient pagan

hofs or temples. They were evidently places of judicial assembly, and even something more.

The ancient hof has, from being built of wood, long since perished, but the earthwork for the judicial assembly is, if unmolested, imperishable, as well in Norway and Iceland as in this country.

A close inspection of many of these rings of earth conclusively showed that, as well in Iceland as in this country, where the surface permitted, they were studiously placed on sloping ground, or so placed near local elevations that the position of those within the circle could be clearly seen.

This is also the case with those near Cardiff, and the one I have referred to in Derbyshire, on Stanton Moor. These circles are all about the same size, and the banks are low in each, apparently for seating the council. The object of the sloping position was, perhaps, that execution of condemned persons might be publicly seen.

In Iceland they are called *Doom Rings*, as though the judicial court was for life or death of accused persons.

It must not be supposed that because I have only dwelt upon one or two forms of earthworks, the "doom rings" and the royal roads or highways, that therefore the subject is limited to these. But it seems better to work one subject to a conclusion, than merely to refer to works which require careful study and exact comparison to understand.

There are other interesting works to be described, compared with each other, and judged of from the best information obtainable of the people who were located where such works are; and they are so marked that, once the subject has been worked to its foundation, the people in any particular district could be ascertained from their works and the surroundings.

Great care is necessary in attempting to distinguish different classes of works, as in this instance, in which, from the *accumulation* of evidence, I have no hesitation in calling these circles "doom rings", and the roads "royal highways", in the sense of being exclusively used by the ruling powers of the district; or, speaking of the Iceni, of their kings and nobles. King's Low and

Queen's Low were probably burying-places of kings and queens of the Iceni.

I am not hasty in such conclusions. Nearly half a century has been devoted by me to the comparison of such works in different parts of the world. When I discovered the very remarkable mounds in Scotland, I felt so sure of my conclusions, that on a mere exterior view I knew they were of sufficient importance to bring the matter before the British Association, then about to meet at Edinburgh. That body treated the matter as a mistake; so I formed a jury of well-known scientific men, not one of whom agreed with my opinions, and opened one of the mounds in their presence. Each of those persons, as I have said, thought I was entirely mistaken; but on the examinations being made, every one of them admitted that my views were fully borne out, and signed a statement to say so, with a knowledge that it would be published in *The Times*, with their names attached, which was done.

But I have had a greater difficulty than difference of opinion to contend with. When I have discovered remarkable objects, even in private grounds, when made known through the press, a mob has on several occasions broken into such grounds, and destroyed the relics; or cultivators and farmers have destroyed them to prevent visitors coming to their farms. There are several objects of deep interest near London, in the way of earthworks, that I dare only mention in confidence to personal friends, as the proprietors have been known to state that they would destroy any such objects if they were discovered on their land.

But there is so much history of the deepest interest enshrouded in these works, many of which have remained entirely untouched, and so are reliable, that I cannot refrain from pointing out one or two other corroborative points on the subject of *your* locality.

A great *European point* is involved in the fact that the words Scania and Scandia (the very variations agreeing with those of Italy,—Scanno with Scania, and Scandiano with Scandia; the same word precisely, less the Italian termination) were, as names, never heard

in Northern Europe till after the fall of Rome; and when the demand for bronze ceased in Etruria, from want of purchasers either of decorative articles or of bronze arms and armour, in both the Eastern and Western Empires: when, in short, those traders in tin ceased their occupation, and settled in the maritime places where for so many centuries they and their race had been but temporary wayfaring traders, and maritime merchants between Italy, Asia, and Britain. The Italian tribes settled in Britain being, as I showed at Manchester, the bitterest enemies of Rome, and its most remorseless plunderers; urged, no doubt, by revenge for the cruelties of the Romans to the Iceni, and the destruction of their trade.

The contest for Britain between Kelts, Saxons, and Danes (under which name Scandinavians were improperly classed, as well Northmen as Danes), after the pillage of Rome by the Goths and Vandals, or Wends—i.e., vendors or sellers, and wanderers for traffic, as Professor Donaldson identifies and describes them—began when these itinerant dealers returned North and settled in the Baltic.

It is curious that the word Scan was previously Scand, to ascend, in other words, going upwards, and, as applied to the North, into high latitudes; so that the name of these people, like that of the Iceni, or rather Ic-eni, may have been simply descriptive of their occupation. How the termination came is, of course, uncertain; but it seems the Greek *vavs*, *vaos* (Latin, *navis*); if so, it would mean the shipmen of the northern or high latitudes; in short, the northern sailors.

Iceland, peopled by the Northmen or Norwegians only, and not by Danes or Swedes, was so peopled from the result of an endeavour to concentrate under a settled government the still almost nomadic traders whose occupation as such had ceased.

That the Romans carried on the metal traffic previously in the hands of the Ic-eni and kindred people, after dispossessing these earlier traders, is proved from the various pigs, bars, and ingots of lead found in this locality, and tin blocks found near Marazion, in Cornwall,

impressed with Roman inscriptions, indicating in some cases government claims, or, as now called, "royalties". So that the anger of the Iceni or Ic-eni, and the attacks on the south-eastern shores of Roman Britain, are clearly explained. The Romans had ruined their trade by appropriation.

The Iceni or Ic-eni clearly existed as a wealthy trading community, under a settled government of kings and queens, prior to Roman occupation. Their later government could not have suddenly burst into regal power, all such rule being the result of long-accumulated wealth and influence. Still less could it have done so under the oppression of Roman conquerors.

There is a very remarkable name between Derby and Alfreton, which is clearly a corruption of a name that runs all along the Icknield Way—"Heage". There is no such arrangement of letters in any European language. Four of the letters are found in the family name Heneage, and an approach to it in the Greek word *ἑαγα*, but without the aspirate. It has no meaning as written, but by the change of one letter it is not only full of meaning, but also, as just pointed out, is a name that runs all along the ancient way of the Ic-eni; at least from Cornwall to the tin district by the Isle of Wight, *i.e.*, Henge. In Cornwall is Hengist Hill; in Wiltshire, Stone Henge; in Hampshire, Hengistbury. In old Norske it means "horse". Hengist and Horsa simply meant the knights or riders; the Vikings, that is, the chiefs, were horsemen, not their followers.

The Vikings' ships at Kiel and at Sandyfiord had accommodation for one horse only. Horsa was probably the Saxon rendering of Hengist, just as the Saxon residents altered the name of the road leading to Heage, really Henge, to Horsley, a name still found on this road a little south of Heage, and half way between it and Derby. The judicial power of life and death of the "Doom Ring" remained till recently at Horsley, where the lord had right to a gallows for execution of offenders. Money Ash was, I take it, the place of a mint for coinage. Stanton—Stannary Town.

Willington is found several times on the route.

Risley was a place of rest and entertainment, as Risborough, on the South Ridgeway, which was for travellers of high and low degree, as shown by Prince's Risborough and Monk's Risborough ; it appears in many forms along the way.

From the careful description of the stones on Stanton Moor, in Derbyshire, by an antiquary of the last century, and the evidently judicial chairs spoken of in such description, the conclusion, in face of the other evidences, is, that there was a Court there, like the ancient Stannary Courts in Cornwall, and for the same purpose, viz., regulating and administering the laws relating to the mines and miners. Such a court existed till recently, called the Barmoot Court, at Wirkworth, south of Stanton Moor (the stannary or tin district).

The Saxon Bar-Moot and Wirk-worth both simply express the value of work in the mines, and the dealings in the bars of metal.

Neither local interments, nor places for religious assembly would affect the place on Stanton Moor being such a commercial court: any more than the Abbey or the Church of St. Margaret at Westminster would make the Houses of Parliament a sepulchral or a religious establishment from their proximity.

The small earthen circle above referred to would thus appear to have been, for judicial matters, connected with fraud in the local metal traffic, to an extent entailing capital punishment.

The careful examinations I have made for many years (at least half a century) lead conclusively to the conviction that most of the stone monuments of a pre-Roman and pre-Christian age were not Druidic, nor even in any way religious, but civil, judicial, and *commercial*, in connection with the extremely ancient metal traffic of Britain.

They abound only in the metalliferous districts, and on the routes of metal traffic from those districts by well-known roads, leading to ports rendered historical by Cæsar and other historians. The lithic arrangement was clearly pre-Roman ; but, as I have shown elsewhere, the Romans appear to have continued it on a grander scale of construction, as at Stonehenge.

That there were religious places of stone arrangements, of the most magnificent conception for their period, would of course follow, as it has always been a custom of wealthy and commercial people to erect grand places of worship. And that they were wealthy in no ordinary degree, the liberal gold coinage, and the beautiful gold ornaments for personal adornment now in the British Museum, prove. And the latter are clearly of Italian make.

Avebury as much transcends the sublimity of Stonehenge, as the Alps transcend that of the little churches which decorate the elevations at their feet.







## SOME ROCK-CUTTINGS IN NORTHUMBER- LAND.

BY MISS RUSSELL.

(Read 3 June 1896.)



THE figures of rock-cuttings here given were intended at one time to illustrate the paper to be found in the *Journal* for April 20th, 1892, on the cup-and-ring cutting as a charm against the evil eye, and the probability that *the groove* which generally crosses the circles represents the javelin or spear piercing the eye. There was some difficulty about getting them ready for engraving; and as they did not exemplify that characteristic of the circles as well as some better-known cases, no illustrations were given with that paper.

And I do not think these figures, from two flat rocks on the Dod Law, near Wooler in Northumberland, have been engraved before, though the locality is well known as one where rock-cuttings occur. No one would give them as good examples of circles, for of the three figures concerned, two are rather square than round; the third, however, being a fair example of a triple circle without the central cup, but with a distinct groove. There is at least one other figure on these Dod Law rocks which is not intended for a circle. It may be incomplete.

But, some time after taking the rubbings, it occurred to me more forcibly than at the time, that the better-formed of the two squares, that with the rounded corners, is a very fairly correct plan of the hut-village which still remains nearly intact on the Dod Law, and close to which these rocks occur. The idea that the rock-cuttings were

of the nature of maps has often been suggested. It had, I think, occurred independently to Sir Daniel Wilson regarding a rock with badly-formed circles, which he engraves, in North America ; and the circles certainly so far resemble the brochs and circular forts which are not uncommon in Scotland.

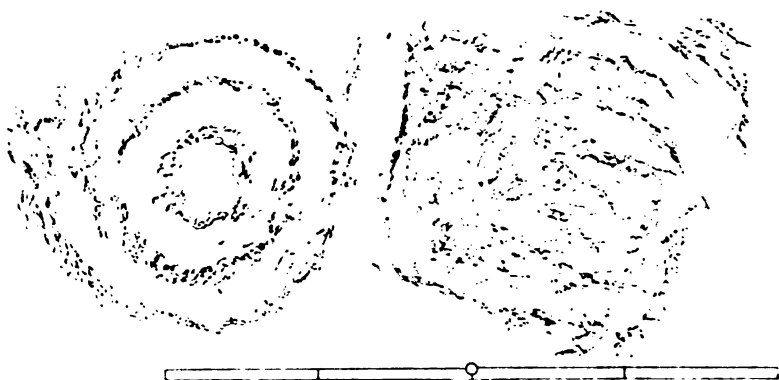
It seems to me that this case of the circle accompanying the rude oblong square, fig. 1, with a better representation of the village and its ramparts by itself on a neighbouring rock (fig. 2), disposes of this theory of the cuttings in general more effectually than any mere want of proof can do ; the object of the representation being, I suppose, to protect the village from the evil eye by what may be something of the nature of a votive model. It is not only possible but probable that some of the rock-cuttings in other places have a similar object ; but this does not apply to the circles by themselves. Even where there is no central cup, the rings, regarded as ramparts, are out of all proportion to the space left for the village.

Although two papers have recently been published, giving a number of new cases of rock-cuttings, with engravings of them,—one by Mr. Coles in *The Proceedings of the Scottish Antiquaries* for 1894-5, concerning Galloway ; the other by Mr. Romilly Allen, on Yorkshire cases, in *The Reliquary and Illustrated Archaeologist*, April 1896, it was neither of these which suggested to me the desirableness of bringing these square figures into notice just now. It was their resemblance to the plans of forts or entrenched villages of different shapes, in the south of Scotland more especially, which have been most laboriously worked out in the last few years by Dr. Christison ; and as regards Galloway and the south of Ayrshire, by Mr. Coles : who had, as so often happens, begun the work nearly simultaneously, without at first knowing of Dr. Christison's. They are very local, some districts having large groups of these fortified villages, while others have hardly any. In fact, when they were inhabited, as now, certain localities suited the population best ; but those which have remained, at least, are not in the valleys, but on the lower hills, where, besides the

defensive position, they have the advantage of a dry foundation.

The water-supply in many cases must have been from rain only ; but in regarding this as a difficulty, people forget that the same is the case at the present day over great part of Australia. All this applies equally to the forts of Islandshire, as the north-east of Northumberland was called, though the limestone rock has a character of its own.

The top of the Dod Law is a flat moor, but on the west side it is as steep as it can be without being a precipice ;



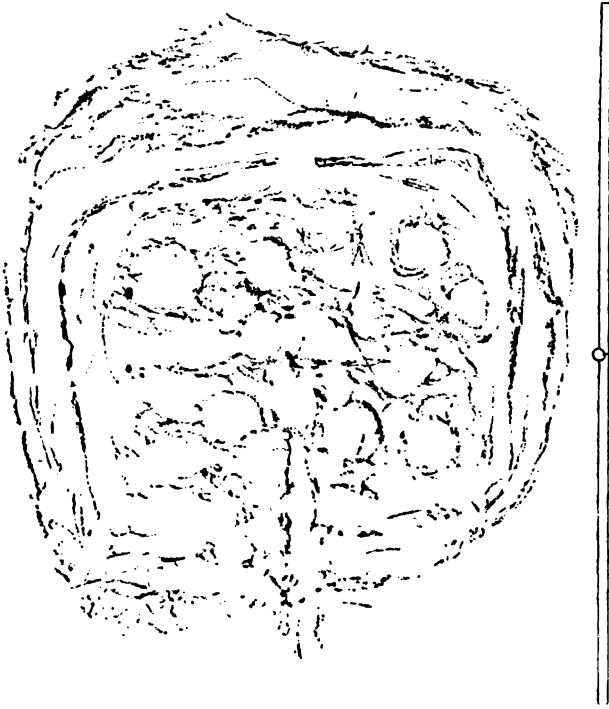
No. 1.

Dod Law, Northumberland.

Rubbing of Rock taken August, 1888.

and on the edge of this is the small fortified village. The people say there are fourteen cups in the square figure on the rock, and there are certainly about that number, though they have not all come out distinctly in the rubbing ; and assuming that the cups, in this case at least, stand for huts, that is about the number that the fort would contain. There are the remains of eight small dwellings still, some round and some square, but those nearest the entrance are gone. There is a small spring just at the entrance, on the left side, looking at the rock-plan, and a fine well on the moor, at some little distance. This must have been regularly sunk at some time, probably for the use of the cottage on the moor.

The rampart of the fort is of small loose stones which had apparently been completely covered with turf; but the Jubilee bonfire of 1887 having been lighted on the outer side of the rampart, the heather and turf caught fire; and if it had not been perfectly still weather, the whole moor would have been burnt. As it was, the fire only smouldered for a week, and laid partly bare the



No. 2.

Dod Law, Northumberland.

Rubbing of Rock taken August, 1888.

structure of the mound. The flat rock surfaces are flush with the level of the ground in the neighbourhood of the fort, and their being frequently covered with turf partly accounts for the cuttings being still so numerous and distinct. However, they are well cared for by those in charge of the hill, both for landlord and tenant.

It should be mentioned that the rubbing of the circles

engraved in fig. 1 gives at first sight the idea of its being meant for a spiral; but this is owing to the rubbing having accidentally been carried out to the edge of the rock in one place. The groove, though sufficiently distinct, is in this case merely three small breaks in a line with each other in the circles. The engravings are from very careful and accurate drawings made from photographs of my own rubbings, in the works of Messrs. Johnston, of Edinburgh. The stick introduced is a yard-measure.

One of Mr. Coles' engravings represents two large sets of circles, of which one overlaps the other. They are not interlaced, but represented as if they were solid discs. And this reminded me of another suggestion which had occurred to me about the larger and more complicated of these figures, though as a working hypothesis it does not explain so much as the other, that the simpler circles are meant for eyes. It is that certain of the rock-cuttings are especially meant to avert the supposed evil effects of *eclipses*.

In the paper of 1892 above referred to, I have quoted Major Conder's statement that in the East, where the belief in the evil eye is thoroughly practical and serious, it seems to be partly identified with the malign influences of the sun and moon; sunstroke being only too obvious, and moonstroke—whether the cold, white light of the moon has really anything to do with it or not—being a known consequence of sleeping out under a clear night sky in the Tropics.

As to eclipses, again, which are harmless but formidable looking, it may be noticed that a court of justice in Madras was adjourned, in the course of the present year, because the native lawyers knew that there was to be an eclipse, and would do nothing at that time. This shows, by the way, how little science affects these things.

What suggested this meaning of some of the rock-cuttings to me was the occurrence in the largest cutting on the Dod Law (one of two fine, large circles) of a large cup, or rather bowl, between the two. It is on an outer circle which, whether intentionally or not, is only carried half round the larger set. It seems evident that this

large cup between the circles must mean something, and the idea did occur to me, supposing them to stand for the sun and moon, that it might symbolise an eclipse. The larger circle *has* a very slight groove.

And when, in another season, I saw the rock-cuttings at Old Bewick, some six or seven miles distant, I was convinced that the principal figures on the rock, which has been repeatedly engraved, have the same object, though the representation is different. Of two large sets of circles, the smaller one (presumably the moon) overlaps the other; and it (the smaller one) is pierced to the centre by a huge groove, more like the stake with which Ulysses blinded Polyphemus than the javelin of the Roman soldier. It extends downwards beyond the circles, and ends in another circle, from which another wide groove runs on to still another. The whole arm and hand, from the elbow, can be placed in the groove. The size of the circles, I think, is about the same as that of the pair engraved by Mr. Coles: about 20 ins. across. These latter, I think, are the largest yet found in Gallogway, where they have only been observed within the last ten or twelve years.

The larger of the pair of separate circles, with the large cup interposed, on the Dod Law, is 34 ins. across; and the larger of the similar but ruder pair on Chatton Law, 40 ins. There is no cup in this case, though there are four small cups and rings on the rock. It is hard to say which of these pairs of large circles is meant by the engraving in Simpson's work on the subject. It is attributed to Chatton Law; but the large cup has been put in, probably from a confused recollection, on one side of the larger circle. There are circle-marked rocks about the Moss of Crinan, in Argyleshire, traversed by the canal. One set is 3 ft. across. And I should infer both that they have been always known, and that some sort of importance was attached to them, for they may have named the place; *cruinne* is Gaelic for a circle. It is, of course, connected with crown, etc.; but in one of the collections of Irish tales published some years ago, there is a beneficent Cyclops named Crinnawn. He may or may not have something to do with Odin, for there are

Scandinavian features in the stories; and a rude rock-cutting from Sweden, of a human figure with a cup and ring for a face, is given by Mr. Romilly Allen. But this brings us back to Polyphemus.

It was observing that concentric circles like the rock-cuttings occur on the ground of some of the early Greek vases with this subject, that enabled me to form a working hypothesis about the rock-cuttings. Mr. Romilly Allen, in his recent paper, mentions that similar rounds, but in relief, generally appear on the Gallo-Roman terra-cotta plaques with the figure of Venus. He quotes for this the *Révue Archéologique*, 3rd series, vol. xi, p. 144, and Roach Smith's *Collectanea Antiqua*, vol. vi, p. 53. I do not vouch myself for the figure being that of Venus. These identifications are often made on very slight grounds; but the authority is good, and the Celts seem to have adopted the Roman deities very freely. But the point is, that if the concentric circles really appear with Venus, the mythological idea must be different from that in the case of Polyphemus. He is a degraded sun-god, though his divinity has become very dim; and it does not appear by what process the Cyclops were identified with probably historical Mediterranean savages. But Venus is not the Sun, neither is she the Moon: as far as she has any elemental character, it is that of Mother Earth; and it is possible that the rounds, in connection with her, may signify the earth and the sky. Her tortoise, on whose back she is sometimes seen standing, I have no doubt is the world-bearer of Eastern mythology: in fact, there is a Hindoo legend which connects the goddess who rises from the sea, under the name of Lakshmi, with the tortoise.

As to what Mr. Romilly Allen says, in the same paper, of the circles on the rocks being irregularly formed, and apparently not intended for decoration, unless in rare cases, it is altogether correct; but the same circles occur on ancient articles of personal use, in lines and groups which can only be called decorative, though probably they were only adopted for good luck. The two classes of these which principally show them are combs and pieces for playing games. The comb is a mythical imple-

ment in many cases, probably from the electric light it evokes from the hair.

In the Antiquarian Museum in Edinburgh is a draughtsman, or tableman, which at first sight looks like a circular brooch, and is an elegant piece of bronze work. The flat ring has, I think, nine cup-and-ring cuttings engraved on it, and the open centre is filled up with a pretty pattern in interlaced wire. Which material (wire) I suspect as being the original one of Celtic knot-work. The lines of holes are puzzling; but sometimes they seem to be a labour-saving way of producing a line. Circles picked out in holes occur.

One reason, perhaps, why the circles have not been more recognised as *eyes*, may be that in ancient Egypt, where the eye was much relied on as a charm, it was the half-closed eye of a hot country with sandy soil that was represented in pottery, etc. In Italy, in Etruria, the circles were boldly painted, and the eyelids faintly indicated.

It may be added that the published engravings of these simple figures are generally correct. There are some exceptions. The uppermost set of circles on the rock at the cross-roads, near the Routin Linn, is weathered or otherwise worn away on the upper side; and this I have seen more than once engraved as having rays like fireworks proceeding from it. An outline engraving, however, no matter how correct, gives little idea of the actual appearance of the engraved rocks; the autotype does represent them very exactly, and as they usually are, not very distinct.

A new variety is engraved by Mr. Romilly Allen, as found in several cases in Yorkshire. In it the groove is represented by a ladder-like figure projecting beyond the outer circle. I do not think this means anything particular, but that it has been produced by the copying of a pattern not understood. The circles have often more than one radial groove, and two of these near each other would, of course, produce a ladder-like effect, the segments of the circles between them representing the steps. The original pattern has probably been like this; but in the cases referred to the steps do not always corre-



spond to the circles, and the ladder projects far beyond them.

As the Northumbrian cases are interesting, it should perhaps be mentioned that a local enthusiast, I forget exactly where, professes to have found rock-cuttings on the rocks at Warkworth and Morwick, on the Coquet, and on those about the Routin Linn, and on the rock called Cuddy's Cove. The three first are well worth seeing, but it is as bits of natural scenery. There are neither circles on the rocks, nor any likely surfaces for them. Cuddy's Cove (the name has been transferred to it from a shepherd's cottage nearer the coast) strongly suggests the cell of an early mediæval hermit. It is a small cell, excavated in a large sandstone rock on a green hill-side, but there are no carvings of any kind.

3 ft.



No. 3.

Dod Law, Northumberland.

Rubbing of Rock taken August, 1888.

The illustration No. 3 is traced from a photograph of a rubbing of the large circles on the Dod Law. The workmanship of these is much better than that of the other figures. Though I think they have all been done by the eye, without measurement.



## RECENT EXCAVATIONS IN AWATOBI AND SIKYATKI.

BY DR. A. C. FRYER.

(*Read 18 March 1896.*)



MOQUI legend tells us that in the year 1700 the people of Awatobi,<sup>1</sup> in the north-east of Arizona, were cruelly murdered by their neighbours. They had received Christianity from Spanish priests, and it was reputed that they were wizards who dwelt in Awatobi

because they kept away the rain-clouds. So seven neighbouring villages made a night-assault on the town at a time when the men of Awatobi were engaged in religious exercises in an underground chamber. The invaders burnt them alive by casting down blazing fagots upon them, and also a quantity of red pepper, to add to the torture of their unfortunate victims. The legend adds that most of the inhabitants of Awatobi who were not in the subterranean chamber were also massacred, although a few of the women and children were saved.

Old Spanish records speak of the destruction of this place, and the spot is known to the Indians as "The Mound of Death." Quite recently this mound has been opened by Dr. J. W. Fewkes, and he has been able to ascertain that fully one hundred men must have perished in this tragedy. After the removal of the earth and *débris* the walls of a "kiva" were discovered, and at the bottom quantities of human bones were found. Many of the bones had been charred by fire. Near the gate of the town a vast quantity of human bones was also discovered. The bones in the underground chamber and in

<sup>1</sup> Awatobi signifies "Place of the Bow People."

the heap near the gate were so mixed up as to preclude the idea of mere burial, while among the Moqui the dead are buried with care and reverence.

Sikyatki is another "dead city", and tradition declares it was a ruin when the Spaniards came to America. The cemetery was on each of the four sides of the town, and the bodies had been laid in rows. Dr. Fewkes found with each interment one or two food-vessels which had been placed with the body. These basins are said to be the finest pottery ever taken from Indian graves in North America. Many are ornamented with butterflies, birds, and other designs. On the bottom of one is the picture of a human hand, on another a mountain-sheep, and yet another has the representation of a lizard-god. These articles of pottery must be over four hundred years old, and yet the same shape of food-vessels are still used by the Moquis and Zunis of to-day. Some of these basins have painted portraits of women upon them, and their hair is done up in the squash-flower fashion. At the present day this fashion is used by the Moquis women to indicate their age. The maiden has a coiffure so formed as to appear like a ripe squash-flower on either side of her head, while in old age the hair is twisted to represent the dried and shrivelled stalk of the squash.

As many as five hundred food-basins were discovered. In the case of one body, the bowl was full of arrow-heads. One earthenware colander was also full of arrow-heads. This colander was most likely used for making sand-pictures. Such pictures are still part of the religious ceremonial of the Moquis to-day. Five little pots of colours—red, yellow, green, black, and white—were found. These were, perhaps, used for painting the face. The black was oxide of manganese; the white was kaolin, a sort of clay; the yellow was yellow ochre; the red was oxide of iron obtained from hematite; and the green was malachite. One bowl was filled with cedar-seeds, while one skeleton had a necklace of turkey-bones stained green.

In one grave a clay effigy representing an ear of corn was found. It has been thought that this was intended to be carried in religious ceremonials. A little mountain-

lion, made of stone, was discovered. This, doubtless, was a hunting fetish. A few earthenware ladles were unearthed, with dragon-flies and tadpoles painted upon them. A number of pipes, which are said to resemble in shape the modern cigar-holders, were discovered. It has been pointed out that they could not hold much tobacco, but at the time they were in use smoking was merely a ceremonial practice among the early aborigines of America.

Dr. Fewkes explored a strip of land lying between the Verde River and the present Moqui country, and on the south of this strip we are informed that he found a number of castle-like edifices. One was built on the face of a vertical escarpment some 300 ft. high, like the swallow's nest on a wall. The rock arching overhead served the purpose of a roof. This building had seven chambers. The second floor had fallen in, and the lower floor was covered with *débris*. The builders of this castle lived at a period long before the Spanish conquest. Some of their sandals, made of Yucca fibre, were found, and also pieces of cotton cloth. Five hundred years ago these people cultivated the cotton-plant, and spun and wove the fibre. We are informed that in some of the pieces of cloth the woof was of Yucca fibre, and the warp of cotton. Ropes and string made of the fibre of the century plant were also found in the *débris*, as well as a stick used for making fire. This stick shows the holes in which the point of another stick was revolved rapidly until the friction caused ignition.

Stone cysts containing skeletons were discovered beneath the level of the original floor. It may be that the interments did not take place until the place was abandoned as a dwelling.

Other cliff ruins were found northwards, towards the present Moqui country. One rock-shelter is reported to be an eighth of a mile long, and contained as many houses as would accommodate four hundred people. Access was obtained by means of ladders, and the occupants could look upon the land beneath through peep-holes. There is little doubt that when times became more peaceable the tribe descended to the plains, and abandoned the old cliff-dwellings.



## ANCIENT METHODS OF TILLAGE.

BY T. BLASHILL, ESQ.

*(Read at the Stoke-upon-Trent Congress.)*

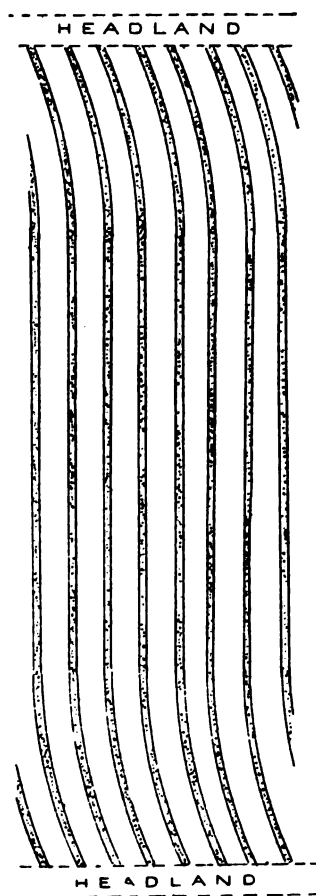


THE observant traveller through those portions of the country which, from ancient times, have been cultivated by the plough, will notice that the surface of the land presents certain marked characteristics. It is deeply scored by furrows which divide the fields into long strips of about eleven yards in width, the strips being rounded so that the ridges are some eighteen inches or more above the level of the furrows. This effect has been produced through the turning of the soil by the plough from the furrow towards the ridge, one object being to enable the surface-water to run off the strips into the furrows, by which it will make its way to the lowest side of the field. But everyone does not notice that these strips are otherwise than straight. They are, in fact, in the ancient ploughland, always of a double curvature, and in England they always present the appearance of the letter S reversed (see illustration on opposite page). They are often called "S lands", to distinguish them from the straight strips of the land which has been brought into cultivation in modern times. In old documents these strips are called "selions", and for the sake of clearness I will here so distinguish them.

Land such as I have described originally formed the common ploughland of the ancient manors, which was divided amongst those entitled to it; the lord of the manor and his free tenants being the chief owners. The

ploughland of the Glebe was here, and the ploughland of such religious communities as had acquired property in the manor. "Every man's land lay intermixed in several places and by several quantities together."<sup>1</sup> It was not usual for one man to have two adjoining selions, but they were held in some kind of rotation which may have been arranged originally by lot, subject to annual re-arrangement, so that the good and the bad might be held by each owner in turn. In the end the ownership usually became unchangeable, though there were cases in which the selions of different owners continued to be changed annually, even until the enclosure of the common fields.

The whole area of this ploughland in a manor was divided into two or else into three fields, so that there might be a proper rotation of crops. One field was producing a crop of wheat, while another was lying fallow and being cultivated, and if the land was divided into three fields, the third was producing a crop of oats, barley, or beans after it had borne a crop of wheat. This was the best land, as it only required to be fallowed one year in three.



SELIONS WITH GRASS BALKS  
IN A TILLAGE FIELD

<sup>1</sup> Decree of the Court of Chancery for enclosing the common fields of Brandesburton, 1667.

Under this system of cultivation the ploughlands of each owner were not only intermixed with others, they were spread over two or three fields which lay on different sides of the cluster of farmsteads which mainly composed the village. The quantity of tillage usually held by an ordinary farmer does not seem to have been more than fifteen acres, which was an oxgang, or bovate; and the farmer had to contribute one ox to the common plough by which eight oxgangs (or one carucate) were tilled. As the selions averaged half an acre, each oxgang consisted of about thirty selions which were distributed pretty equally over the two or three fields, so that the farmer had each year about the same quantity of land in crop. If he had two oxgangs, or only half an oxgang, the same routine of labour and of crops applied. In proportion to his ploughland was his share in the common meadow, and also his right to turn cattle into the common pastures and wastes.

Much discussion has arisen in recent times (see *Domesday Studies*) upon the varying areas of the oxgang and the carucate, and very ingenious theories have been invented to account for such variations. I think, however, that theories of this kind are far too complicated, and that the systems which are involved in them could have served no useful purpose. I have no doubt that these variations, as found in old documents, are largely due to the habit which grew up of reckoning the meadow land with the tillage without distinguishing between them. Thus, if an oxgang of tillage had attached to it nine acres of meadow, the area of the oxgang might be given as twenty-four acres instead of fifteen. Besides this, changes in area frequently took place through the divisions of the lands, so that the share of one person was something more or less than an oxgang. In such cases the divisions were called oxgangs, although their areas differed materially from the areas of the oxgangs in neighbouring lands. This is, however, a question as to which further investigation is necessary.

Another important question has been raised by the form in which the areas of lands in the several manors are given in the *Domesday Survey*. The common form

is to say that there is so much arable land "to be taxed", and the areas so given do not correspond with later evidences of area, being usually smaller than the quantity that probably existed. From the limited number of cases that have come under my observation, the discrepancy seems to disappear if we suppose that the land "to be taxed" was not the whole of the arable land in the manor, but only so much as was growing a crop in any one year. Thus, if a manor actually contained six carucates divided into three common fields, one of which was fallow, the land to be taxed would be only four carucates; and if it were divided into two fields, one of which was fallow, the land to be taxed would be only three carucates. Under Sutton-in-Holderness, the total amount of arable entered in *Domesday* against the manor and the berewic is 525 acres. The land lay in three fields, one of which would be fallow, and would contain about 262 acres. If the *Domesday* entry included the two fields only which were growing crops, we must add these two areas together, making a total area of 787 acres, which agrees very well with the actual area of tillage at the enclosure, which amounted to 780 acres.

It is only within the last few years that writers on ancient agriculture have recognised the plain and conspicuous fact that the selions of the ploughland are not straight, but of a double curvature similar to Hogarth's "Line of Beauty". Indeed, I do not know where this is recognised by any old writer except in Mason's "English Garden", where the ploughing steers are said to trace along the field

"That peculiar curve,  
Alike averse to crooked and to straight,  
Where sweet Simplicity resides; which Grace  
And Beauty call their own; whose lambent flow  
Charms us at once with symmetry and ease."

I do not think that any probable conjecture as to the cause of this double curvature has been made except that offered by Canon Isaac Taylor,<sup>1</sup> viz., that it resulted from the turning of the heavy plough drawn by its team of oxen always, or usually, to the left when it arrived at

<sup>1</sup> *Domesday Studies*, "The Ploughland and the Plough."



the end of the selion, and had to be started on the return journey. Yet the present habit is invariably to turn in the opposite direction, all modern ploughs being so constructed as to turn the furrow to the right. Such a change as this in the practice of the whole agricultural population is most extraordinary. There is, however, another point arising out of the direction in which the plough was habitually turned which is quite as remarkable, and is, indeed, most interesting.

In the ancient cultivated land on the Continent there is to be observed the same peculiarity in the shape of the selions. The land was there also anciently cultivated by heavy ploughs drawn by oxen.<sup>1</sup> But on the Continent the direction in which the plough was made to turn was not uniform. There are many districts in which the double curvature of the selions is different from that which always exists in England, being similar to the curvature of the letter S. I do not think that this has been much noticed, and it has never received the attention which, as I think, it deserves.

A habit of turning the plough in a particular direction at the end of the furrow, which from its effects must have existed for generations or for centuries, must have become rooted in the minds of the farming population. If, therefore, the ploughmen of two districts have for ages turned their teams in different directions, it is probable that they belong to tribes or nations that, since the plough was invented, have been distinct, and have had little or no intercourse. A carefully prepared map shewing where the selions curve to the left, and where they curve to the right would, I feel sure, give useful indications of the ancient boundaries of races or countries. Though I cannot now pursue this subject, I will give a few notes which may lead the way to future inquiries.

The ploughman who, through the middle ages, cultivated the English fields must have been descended from ancestors that habitually turned the plough to the left.

<sup>1</sup> Although oxen are still often used, they draw the light modern plough, which does not appear to have been introduced into eastern France until about the year 1825.

I have had no opportunity of examining the ploughlands in those districts from which our earlier ancestors may be supposed to have come. In France the changes in cultivation and the minute subdivision of the land have usually obliterated the ancient evidence, but where a good stretch of old open field is found, the selions are still to be traced. In Normandy, near to Falaise, they curve to the right, which differs from the English selions. Going south through ancient Burgundy by way of Dijon, the selions that are most clearly defined also turn to the right, but in certain places along that route I have seen some which turn to the left. I do not think that curved selions would be produced by the Roman plough still in use in the south, and I have observed hardly any indications of them in Italy or Spain. But at the upper end of Lake Maggiore, on land reclaimed by the lowering of the water, the marks of the plough are very clear, the selions turning to the left. I should say that in Germany and Austria, with Hungary, the selions usually turn to the left, but there are districts where all the selions turn to the right. Near Vienna both kinds are to be seen. Near Ratisbon, and from Nuremberg towards Wurzburg, they turn to the right, but there is a place where the railway crosses the Main near Kitzingen where they suddenly change to the English manner and turn to the left. Between Augsburg and Ulm the most decided examples that I ever saw of selions which turn to the right occur, but on proceeding towards Stuttgart and also southward towards Schaffhausen, they curve to the left.

The illustration of selions which I have here given shews the grass balks of three to six feet in width by which they were divided so long as they continued to be the property of different persons. These are still very commonly seen on the Continent, particularly in eastern Germany and in Hungary, but it is very rare to find any trace of them in England where the land has been enclosed and the grass has been turned up by the plough.





## NOTES ON HELEIGH CASTLE.

BY REV. THOMAS W. DALTRY, M.A., ETC.

(Read at the Stoke-on-Trent Congress, 15 Aug. 1895.)



IN the *Domesday Studies*, by Rev. R. W. Eyton, we read that in Heolla, the Saxon possessor T. R. E., Alward, held "hides, 0 ; virgate,  $\frac{1}{2}$  ; terra quot carrucis, 1".

"Heolla (Heighley in Audley).—This Tainland, escheated and waste at the date of *Domesday*, seems subsequently to have been annexed to Betley, an estate of which Ulwin, a thane of King William, was then in possession. The next possessors of both estates, whether descended from Ulwin or not, assumed the name of De Betley. Between the years 1175 and 1227 these De Betleys sold Heighley and Betley to the great territorial acquisitionist, Henry de Audley. At Heighley, Audley founded a castle, *à propos* to which he obtained from Harvey de Stafford some adjacent part of De Stafford's manor of Madeley."

Mr. T. J. Mazzinghi says on this : "It appears that it (Heolla) had been devastated, '*vasta*'; and as the estate is there so small we may conclude that it had been defended for its site by the Saxons in the general uprising in Mercia, A.D. 1067-8 ; and if defended, it is probable there was a stronghold there even then. It may, for aught we know, have next been fortified for the Normans, and may have been a second time destroyed in consequence of the law to demolish castles in (I think) Henry II's time. After that Heleigh seems to have passed through the hands, if not of the Earl of Chester, at least of the Barons Stafford, until it came from Henry

de Stafford to Henry de Aldithelega, one of the most remarkable members, and indeed the founder of the greatness, of the first race and of this barony of Audley and Heleigh.

"The name Heolla or Heleigh seems an allusion, in Saxon, to the elevated site. It results from a charter of Hulton Abbey that Henry, Lord Audley, gained, by means of an exchange with Henry de Stafford, the advantage of considerably increasing his park at Heleigh."

I may here say that some fields in the parish of Madeley are still called "The Park Fields." They are beyond what is now called "Walton's Wood", to the north-east, and were therefore at a considerable distance from the Castle; so that by this exchange the park became a very considerable one.

I find in vol. iv of the *Historical Collections of Staffordshire* (p. 72), which gives the Plea Rolls of Henry III (Hundred of Pyrhill), the following:—"Adam, son of Lusi of Betteleg, was killed by a stag in the Park of Heileg. No one is suspected. The same Adam killed the stag. The value of the skin is 6*d*." This would be in 1228. We find that King Henry, in the seventh year of his reign, had given Lord Audley twelve hinds from his forest at Cannock, to stock it with.

I return to Henry de Audley, the maker of his race. He founded the Abbey of Hulton, some few miles away to the east, in the year 1219, "according to the annals of Parcolude", and completed and endowed it in 1223. It was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, for the use of a convent of monks of the Cistercian Order, living according to the rules of St. Benedict.

"The Lords Audley not only describe their barony as of Heleigh, but this Castle was their favourite residence. They seem, indeed, to have lived there. They were buried in the adjacent Abbey of Hulton, their own foundation, and had inscriptions and cenotaphs, I believe, to their memory in Audley Church, of which they were patrons." Thus Nicholas Audley, styled Lord of Rouge-mont (*i.e.*, Redcastle in Hawkstone Park), in making his will on September 15th, 1381, uses these words, "My body to be buried in the Church of our Abbey of Hulton,

at the end of my father's tomb, in a marble tomb, as my father hath."

The father of this Nicholas was James, the lord so famous in King Edward II's war, the famous warrior who was so sorely smitten in the field of Poitiers (1356) that the Black Prince had to come to him on the field where he was bleeding. However, he survived Poitiers more than twenty years, towards the close of which he made his will on the very spot where we now are, and in it he says, "I, James Audley, Lord of Roug Castle, make this my last will and testament in the 9th year of King Richard II, 1385." He died on the 1st of April following, in his sixty-eighth year. "My body to be buried in the quire of my Abbey at Hilton, before the high altar, if I die in the Marches, but if I depart out of this life in Devon or Somersetshire", and so on.

That he did die in the Marches is proved by the will of his son Nicholas, and the question then arises, Was Heleigh in the Marches? This we cannot say, either one way or the other. Perhaps he died at his Castle of Rouge-mont, which is more likely to have been in the Marches, and his body was taken thence to his Abbey of Hilton.

In the church of Audley there is a mutilated brass bearing this inscription :

"Ici gist mons. Thomas d'Audley, chivaler, fiz a mons. James d'Audley, Seigno' de Helegh de rouge Chastell qui morust le xxi jo' de Januar. l'an de grac' M<sup>CCCLXXXV</sup> quint de qi alme dieu p'sa pite eit merci. Amen."

The wife of the aforesaid Nicholas was Elizabeth, daughter of Alice Adeline de Beaumont, Countess of Bogan. She was childless, and with the death of her husband, Nicholas, the first race of the Barons of Audley comes to an end. Heleigh passed to Foulk Fitzwarren, great-grandson of James, Lord Audley. At his death it came to two co-heiresses, sisters of his mother, who had married a Touchet and a Hilary. The barony descended to John Touchet, son of the elder sister, whose son, James, Lord Audley, of the second race, was slain at the battle of Blore Heath, A.D. 1459, not far distant, where stands Audley Cross on the spot where he fell.

So departed the glory of Heleigh Castle ; but, as you know, the title of Lord Audley only became extinct a few years ago, with the death of the nineteenth Baron, the premier Baron of England.

The last appearance of Heleigh Castle in military history, prior to the eclipse of its castellated dignity, was in January 1644-5, when the Parliamentary Committee sitting at Stafford, as a measure of precaution directed Mr. Edward Mainwaring, junior, Mr. Samuel Terrick, and Mr. Simcox, or any two of them, to view the Castle of Heleigh, and agree with masons and other labourers, at as cheap a rate as they could, "to demolish and pull down the said Castle and walls, for feare lest an enemy should possess himself of it."

Mr. Mazzinghi, in his paper on Heleigh Castle, read on the spot, before the North Staffordshire Naturalists' Field Club and Archæological Society, on October 16th, 1879 (which I have freely used in this sketch), says, "Why they left the ruined walls, which Dr. Plot saw and which we see, story sayeth not. Perhaps time, or labour, or money ran short ; perhaps that we and our posterity may be able to infer from this, his heel, what Hercules was."

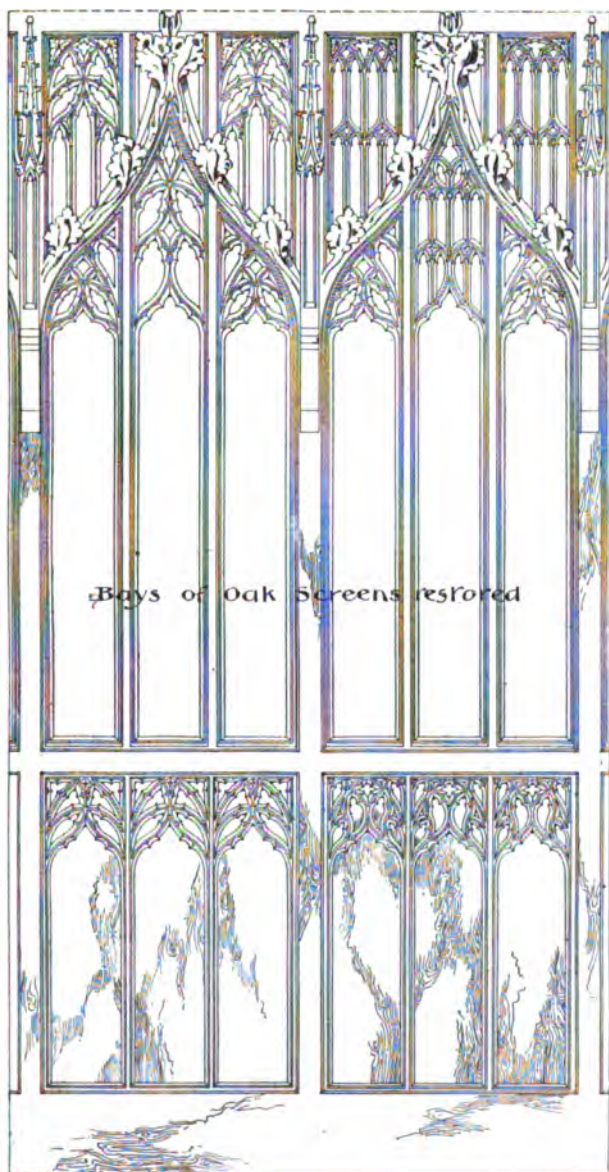
Heleigh Castle is now the property of the Earl of Crewe, by whose permission we visit it. He inherited it from his uncle, the late Lord Crewe. It came into the family by exchange with Sir Thomas Boughey, Bart., when Mr. Cunliffe, who had married the aunt of Lord Crewe, built the new Madeley Manor in order that it might become part of his grounds. This was about seventy years ago.






## Antiquarian Intelligence.

*Sutton-in-Holderness : the Manor, the Berewic, and the Village Community.* By THOMAS BLASHILL, F.R.I.B.A. (Hull : Wm. Andrews and Co.). The present age is eminently that of parochial histories, the past age was that of county histories. The present demands more local details, more literary precision, more artistic elaboration, than was expected from the writers who, in days now passed away, undertook single-handed to perform tasks far beyond their power, either as antiquaries or historians. Hence it is that the need is great of supplementing, or even superseding, what is in many instances a perfunctory and incomplete account of a parish, by the aid of a book devoted entirely to the elucidation of the most important factors in its life and progress. Mr. Blashill has undertaken to perform this onerous duty for his native parish, and he has succeeded. He has very properly studied what others have recorded of it, and sifted the correct from the inaccurate, the true from the obscure, the clear from the perplexing. To the result of these processes he has added the pricelessly valuable evidence of original documents which have never hitherto been at the command of the Sutton historian ; he has analysed charters that have recently come to light, and found a fitting home among thousands of their congeners in the British Museum ; and gathered much evidence of natural and local antiquities which have never before been inspected, under proper conditions of understanding, on the part of those who had them spread out before their eyes. He takes up his story at the earliest period, when the land was being slowly deposited by the sea, which was in process of retroceding in that part of Yorkshire known as Holderness, a hollow filled with woods and prairies, jutting out from the high wealds and wolds further west. He traces the successive occupants of the site, their varying—often uncouth—manners and customs, and the remains, both large and small, which have come down to us to-day. Then comes the gradual occupation of the land by the plough and the beast ; the establishment of local authority by the overlords ; the settlements made by the monks and nuns, under their patronage and with their favour ; the annals of the great family of Sayer de Sutton and his descendants, their disputes



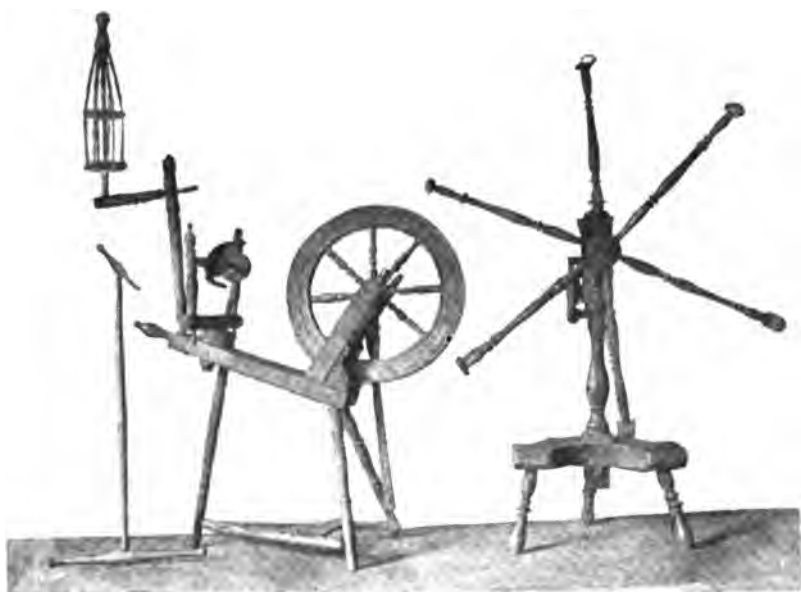
Bays of Oak Screens restored

SCALE OF  FEET

SCREEN IN SUTTON CHURCH.







**MEDIEVAL SPINNING WHEELS.**



with the monasteries, in which eventually the church triumphed ; the manors, berewics, enclosures, and the elaborate methods employed for draining the ever-present superfluity of water which appear to have given trouble, and caused damage all through the long mediæval period of his observation. In this task, excellently performed in a readable and convincing style, incidental notices of many interesting subjects are bound to be handled ; the great transformations of the bondsman tied to the soil into the free labourer ; of the open common fields into private property ; of the individual woolspinners, producers, and manufacturers into the factory workers, graziers and merchants ; the origin and survival of family names, the vicissitudes the members of the families passed through, and many other side-issues, afford instruction and entertainment as we read on.

The church with its monuments, its details of stone structure and carved interior fittings, although perhaps possessing no very particular points of super-eminence, has passed through many phases of form and treatment, and Mr. Blashill has recorded them all ; nor has he omitted to show how much the history of the whole of the country resembles that of Sutton in its prehistoric inception, its gradual metamorphosis from open wilderness into neatly-ordered fields and farms, cottages and farmsteads, the civilising and humanising of its inhabitants under the influence of the regular and secular church, and, finally, in the dawn of modern growth and commercial developments due to proximity to some great national centre, such as Hull—in this particular instance—has been for centuries. This work may well be taken as a model for other parochial histories, which are too often merely bald and lifeless notices of events strung together without attraction or interest. Here the true interest which the reader feels when he begins to peruse the volume grows apace as he proceeds, and he may well marvel at the great store of patience and extensive research which finds its own reward in the finished performance which we have much pleasure in recommending our members to read and profit by.

LADY PAGET has recently published a treatise on *Some Resemblances between the Primitive Dwellings in America and those built by the Celtic Picts*, which will interest all who study the oldest relics of the builders' art as practised among the aborigines of the world. It is a pity so few remain to us, and these so often in a fragmentary and ruinous condition.

WE have received a new volume of *The Gentleman's Magazine Library*, edited by Mr. G. L. GOMME, F.S.A., containing the *Ecclesi-*

ology edited by Mr. F. A. MILNE, M.A. Among many other excellent articles in this volume are some on Early Church Buildings, and on Sculpture as accessory to Architecture, which should be read by all antiquaries.

MR DAVID MURRAY, LL.D., F.S.A., in his *Archæological Survey of the United Kingdom* (Glasgow : Maclehose and Sons), has touched an important subject which has long exercised the archæologists of Great Britain. The author hopes for a survey conducted by the Government, and for further legislation as to preservation of relics ; in these two desires all right-minded persons will go with him. The book will be read with much profit.

*The Scottish Antiquary, or Northern Notes and Queries* (Edinburgh : Johnston, 33 George St.). Under its new management by Mr. J. H. STEVENSON, M.A., F.S.A., Scot., *The Scottish Antiquary* will endeavour to be a general Antiquarian and Historical Magazine, and medium for Queries and Replies for the northern half of our Island. As it is not intended that the Magazine should confine itself to any department of investigation, or to any epoch or district of Scotland in particular, all matters of Antiquity, in Arts and Manufactures, Bibliography and Literature, Biography, Genealogy, Law, Manners and Customs, Folk-lore, Heraldry, Public and Private Records, Topography, and all such sources of information on subjects of interest, will have their turn in its pages. And there is no quarter of the kingdom which cannot contribute, from its relics of the past, to our knowledge of the history of Scotland and its people,

The notes are original and authenticated contributions to the knowledge of antiquity. Reports of current events of interest, Antiquarian Explorations and Finds ; and Reports of the Meetings of Archæological and kindred societies, will find their due place. Its moderate cost, 4s. yearly, is a good feature in its new appearance.





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### BOROUGH SEALS AND CIVIC MACES.

BY J. W. TONKS, ESQ.

(*Read 15 Jan. 1896.*)



STUDENT of the growth and development of municipal institutions in England cannot go far in his subject without finding that there are many roads apparently divergent, but which all lead in time to his central theme. As it was said that all roads led to Rome, so do all these paths of study (I will not call them bye-paths) lead to a just appreciation of the mighty force and the increasing importance of British corporate life. The spread of the customs of self-government, the decentralisation of authority, the devolution of power,—all these are indicated clearly along the road which I ask you to travel with me to-night. I trust you will agree with me that it is an interesting road ; and if it is a more winding course than the strict utilitarian would approve, yet I believe that the prospects by the way will be more fascinating than a geometric straight line would admit of, and that the end will not be too long delayed.

The history of the rise and progress of boroughs in

England is indicated by their corporate seals. A town in early days, when "right was might", gathered generally near the walls of the castle of a powerful baron. The reasons were many. The community were likely to obtain employment, to be able to sell produce, manufactures, or merchandise in such a locality; while, on the other hand, they could afford the baron personal service in time of war, and occasional support in goods or money. If an enemy approached the district, they were able to store their valuables, to fly within the walls of the castle for protection, after which they could assist the men-at-arms in defence of their lord and of their own homes. The burghers of the little town becoming more numerous and thriving, the wiser heads among them became leaders. They met together, and bargained for charters from the baron, empowering them to hold markets, and arranging for the protection of the roads from plunderers during the times at which such markets were held. The prudent townsfolk, led by their local council, took the further step, as soon as they were able, of getting their market-rights amplified and confirmed by the King.

After the market-rights had thus been assured, a town advancing in wealth and trade sought for a charter of self-government. This was usually obtained, in the first instance, from the feudal lord, as with the market-charters; but a growing city seldom stopped at this point. The grant of a royal charter of incorporation was always the ultimate aim.

Among the castle seals may be noted those of Bedford, Bridgnorth, Clitheroe, Devizes, Exeter, Malmesbury, Neath, Newbury, Pembroke, Pontefract, Swansea, Totton, and the fine seal of Warwick. These early boroughs have the castles of varying forms, either alone or with local devices, such as in the case of Swansea. The seal of this large town, probably of later date than the original one, has a shield over the castle, with a bird, probably intended for a sea-swan, a rebus (of inaccurate derivation) for Swansea. Others call it the osprey, or fishing eagle; but it is evidently a subsequent addition to the simplicity of the early cognizance.

This leads me to a fact of much interest, illustrating

the brief account just given of the origin of boroughs in England. The original seals of towns having charters from the barons may have had the distinctive castle pure and simple, drawn in the conventional manner of the time ; but when this first charter had been enlarged and confirmed by a special grant from the Crown, this was often reflected in the change which the seal underwent. The arms of England were the golden lion upon a field of blood or crimson, and this royal beast appears with his appropriate field after the King has given or confirmed a charter. Thus the ancient city of Norwich was granted a confirming charter by King Henry II. The old castle, with its central tower and courtyard, are given in conventional perspective on the shield. The surrounding field is *gules*, and the golden lion, passant guardant, is represented before the castle gate.

Carlisle is another instance of a confirming charter granted by Henry II. Here the royal arms, the golden lion on a crimson field, occupies the chief of the shield. The castle with two towers below, is indicated as near the water's edge by heraldic wave-lines ; the field, of green, represents the hills and verdant scenes amid which it was placed ; and the roses at sides were added in honour of later charters given by the Tudor kings.

Chichester, which possessed charters granted by King Stephen and Henry II, has a seal with a triple-towered castle, having in front a shield, in chief of which is again the British lion on a field *gules*.

The famous city of Lincoln, finally incorporated by King Edward II, has a five-towered castle with pinnacles on its shield. The royal emblem is here the cross of St. George, illustrating the battle-cry, "St. George for Merrie England !" The patriotic impulse does not stop here. The golden lily of France is placed in centre of the cross of St. George, and the fleurs-de-lis, at intervals in the field, illustrate the memory of the first conquest of France.

Bridport also has a seal interesting in this connection. The charter of incorporation was granted by Henry III. The castle is shown upon wave-lines, emblematic of the sea. The British lion, passant guardant, *or*, is on the



upper ramparts, and he is crowned. Crowns also appear on the flanking towers. These crowns belong to the period of the Stuarts, by whom qualifying charters were issued.

The Stafford civic seal is an unusually beautiful one, and I have reserved it till now as the Association recently met in this county. This borough was governed by two bailiffs at the time of the Domesday Survey, and the conception of the seal probably belonged to the fourteenth century. The circle is divided into six arches with Gothic finials. Within this a castle with lofty, central tower, flanked by side-turrets, stands beside a stream, shown by the fish sporting amid gentle wavelets. The crimson field has four golden lions placed for purposes of symmetry in the intervals of the arches, thus combining the regard for the feudal lord with the loyalty due to the reigning monarch.

The antique galley is often adopted with the castle on the seals of maritime boroughs. Thus the small but ancient town of Beaumaris, incorporated in 1295 by Edward I, has the ship in front, the castle in the rear; and on the other side of the mast is the shield bearing the three lions of England.

Bristol, incorporated later, in the reign of Henry II, has a vessel of more recent style, issuing from harbour beside the castle towers.

Stockton-on-Tees, which had evidently some corporate privileges in the fourteenth century, has on its seal the castle emblems, occupying a middle space between the ends of an enormous anchor.

Brighton and Poole indulge in dolphins, while Dover and the Cinque Ports have a curious charge. The shield is divided heraldically, *per pale*, and has three demi-lions for England, apparently joined to the latter halves of three war-galleys of the period.

Boroughs deriving their charters directly from the Crown usually marked the fact in a very distinctive way in their insignia. Dartmouth, incorporated 14 King Edward I, has a bust of the monarch placed in centre of war-galley, with a British lion standing at guard on prow and stern. This is not the only instance of this monarch's apparent fondness for seal-portraiture.

Winchester rejoices in the possession of a very fine silver seal, of which also I have an impression. It was presented to the city by Edward I, and bears his effigy very boldly executed, the lion of England couchant beneath, and two castles at sides.

Queenborough was so named by Edward III when he built a castle there, and made a free borough around it, as his barons had frequently done round their castles. He did this in honour of Philippa, his brave and beautiful Queen, who had led an army into Scotland in his absence, to safeguard the frontier; and, on the other hand, pleaded on her knees before him for the lives of the citizens of Calais. The seal of Queenborough bears an elevation of the castle, with the effigy of Queen Philippa, as far as the bust, rising above the central tower.

Hull received a charter directly from Edward I, and therefore took the name of King's-town-upon-Hull, bearing on its shield three crowns, for England, France, and Scotland.

We must not omit to notice the ecclesiastical origin of many boroughs. A town occasionally gathered round a famous shrine or church, which being regarded as holy ground became a place of sanctuary not likely to be attacked in those superstitious times. The priest, abbot, or bishop then became the intermediary by whose help charters were obtained, confirmed, and enlarged, the Church in such cases benefiting considerably by the process. Durham is a case in point, the first charter of incorporation having been granted by Bishop Pudsey in 1179, and confirmed, curiously enough, by the Pope, Alexander III. The device on the seal is a golden cross upon a field *azure*.

Among religious seals we have those of Faversham and Wilton, bearing effigies of the Madonna and Child under canopies.

The old seals of Hartlepool, of which I have impressions, are interesting as recording with Gothic conventionality the good deeds of the Abbess Hilda, famous in her own day, and dear to us as the one who encouraged Cædmon, the first great English poet, to sing.

Glastonbury has its croziers, proper for a town whose chief Abbot was hung, drawn and quartered for resistance to the temporal power.

Rochester has a very fine seal, said to be of the twelfth century, of which I have an impression. On one side is a representation of the crucifixion of St. Andrew, the patron saint, graphic yet conventional. The reverse face has a superb elevation of the castle, with its two draw-bridges, warders, and the royal standard floating above.

One of the next developments in the arrangement of seals was the rebus mode of heraldic device. Liverpool commences this. Pool of the liver bird is supposed to be the origin. The notorious King John granted its first charter; and the silver seal then made has the bird in centre, similar to that adopted now. This seal is still in the possession of the Corporation.

Many indeed are these quaint devices, generally the products of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Lichfield, in the county of Stafford (inaccurately at one time thought to mean "Liced-field", or field of carcases, on account of a tradition of the slaughter of a thousand Christians there at the time of the Diocletian persecution), has on its seal three maimed figures prone upon the field, with weapons strewed around. These figures wear coat-armour of the fourteenth century.

The seal of Appleby bears a tree with mediæval apples; Bridgwater, a bridge over river; Beverley, or Beaver-lake, a beaver and wave-lines; Derby, or Deer-by, has for cognizance a stag protected by a ring-fence; Daventry, or Dane-tree, a Dane and a tree. The later seal of Hartlepool has a hart attacked by a hound while crossing a pool; Oxford bears on its seal no reference to its position as a seat of learning, but the more prosaic one of an ox crossing a ford; Taunton has the rebus of a T or "tau", and "tun" or barrel; while Preston, originally Priest-town" is distinguished by the sacred emblem of the Agnus Dei.

I have gone thus far into details because the later insignia of ancient corporations derive entirely from the cognizances adopted in those early and simple days. The original arms of the City of London itself are com-

posed of the English national emblem, the cross of St. George, with the symbol of St. Paul, the sword of the spirit, in the first interspace; this latter indicating the patron saint of the city.

The arms of modern corporations become much more involved as the laws of heraldry have been amplified and increased in number. They lack the force and directness, sometimes the poetry, of the earlier devices. Still, many of them, when fully explained, are seen to have a charming reference to the origin, the growth, and the industries of the boroughs to which they respectively belong. The borough of Stoke-on-Trent itself adapts the arms of the Spodes, Mintons, and Copelands, with the Campbell crest, all redolent of the beautiful local manufactures; while the motto, "E terris dare artem" is appropriate and expressive. Burslem has the Portland Vase in its seal, while the Hanley shield is elaborately related to its local conditions.

The seal, then, was the first sign or evidence of office held by the mayor, borough-reeve, port-reeve, or bailiff, as it was of first importance. Armed with it, he could go before baron, king, or commons, speak in the name of his district, present the petitions of his burgesses, defend charters already obtained, or negotiate new ones.

If, however, the seal was the first, it was not the only indication of the office of the chief personage of a corporation. The robe was probably the next, and after that came the mace.

The mace was originally a weapon of warfare, and no doubt a formidable one. It was used to batter or break through the helmet, or other portions of armour, against which sword and spear would be of no avail. The mace is of extreme antiquity, and was known to the ancient Greeks, its name being derived from the little horns or spikes by which the head was surrounded. Plutarch informs us that Periphetes, slain by Theseus, was named "Corynetes", or the "Mace-Bearer." The weapon of his fallen foe was then adopted by Theseus himself, becoming in his hands irresistible. The corporation mace itself has by some writers been derived from the "sceptre of Agamemnon", which was preserved by the Chæroneans.

This sceptre, as we are told by Pausanias, was not kept in a temple, but was used much after the manner of a mace in corporate towns. It was annually brought to view with proper ceremonies, and a sort of mayor's feast seems to have been provided on the occasion.

In England the charming skull-cracker styled "the morning star of Scandinavia", and the spiked ball of the Danish battle-axe, seem to have been the prototypes of the early mace. This begins to appear as a weapon in the Bayeux Tapestry. Bishops, it seems, might use them, though they were not allowed to handle the sword. They were at first very simple in form: the mace of Bishop Wyvil, and one of the time of Henry III, looking like enlarged copies of a brass-headed nail, having a blunt or rounded point and some surface decoration.

Some of the earliest corporation maces bear a marked resemblance to those of military origin. They had six or eight longitudinal sections forming a head, and were doubtless powerful means of enforcing and preserving order. The body of "Sergeants-at-Mace", instituted by Richard I, formed a guard for the King's tent, and were empowered to arrest traitors, the mace being deemed a sufficient authority for this purpose. In the parish church of Wandsworth is a brass to a Sergeant-at-Mace.

These warlike symbols, which had thus become signs of authority, in the course of two centuries became richer in material, more elaborate in form, and adapted for official display at ceremonials. Thus, in 1417, a Sergeant-at-Mace was ordered, when appearing before the King, to wear a gold chain with a badge of the King's arms and quarterings, "with a peon royal, or mace of silver", in his right hand. He was also to have a truncheon in his left hand, which would seem to imply that the mace had become distinctly a symbol, richly ornamented; while the truncheon, if need be, was to perform those severer tasks for which the mace was originally fitted.

The early corporate maces, which were of iron or copper, soon began to follow the richer fashions of the times. The towns becoming powerful, and having a growing public spirit, soon saw the importance of civic insignia as evidence of their rising power. They began to surround

their chief magistrates with state and circumstance, not merely as Carlyle puts it, "to keep fools at a distance", but also because of the practical value to them of these adjuncts in the process of securing and enlarging their liberties. On the same principle that a poor man is advised by Lytton to go dressed in his best to see a wealthy relative, these boroughs quickly discovered that they had better audience of the great barons, and were more successful in their visits to the court, when they enhanced the importance of their town by the manner in which they sent forth their mayors. The robes therefore became sumptuous, the retinue large, and the civic mace of silver (sometimes even with parts in gold) was lavishly adorned with devices and enriched with ornament, in the colours and treatment of the ecclesiastical art of that period. This went on to such an extent that the King was moved at last to interfere. An Act was passed in the reign of Edward III providing that no mayor, borough-reeve, port-reeve, or bailiff, should have carried before him a mace of any metal more costly than copper, except by the special gift or permission of the King. We do not know how far this Act was obeyed. It may have caused the mace to become more strictly useful and less ornamental.

Long after this period the mace was a weighty implement, used in troublous times for enforcing law and order. The knocking down of Wat Tyler by the mace of the Lord Mayor of London, in the early years of the reign of Richard II, was probably no historical embellishment, but the counterpart of many a lively scene in which the first citizen of an English town was compelled thus to assert his authority, and even to defend his life.

A curious example of the character and meaning of the mace is given in the records of Coventry. In 1450, King Henry VI visited the city. The Mayor, arrayed in scarlet, met him on horseback, alighted, and with his brethren made him due obeisance on the knees. Then the Serjeant-at-Mace put the mace into the Mayor's hand. He, duly kissing it, offered it to the King. Henry VI, with an approving speech, returned it to him, and the Mayor took horse, holding the mace in his hand,

riding before the King, the two Bailiffs of the city riding before the Mayor, holding their maces in their hands, making way and room for the King's coming. This ceremony clearly indicates the time-honoured meaning of the mace, as representing the royal power and authority delegated to the Mayor for the time being; this power and authority being recognised as having its source from the Sovereign.

The borough of Stratford-on-Avon was incorporated by royal charter in the seventh year of King Edward VI (1553), and the two smaller maces, now in the possession of the corporation, doubtless belong to that period. They have straight stems, with bands and decorated ends of open scrolls. The heads, shaped like a patera, have the royal fillet and circlet variously given; the one having a coronet of strawberry leaves, the other of cross pattées. The royal arms are given in plate within the coronet, one having an ornamental seal-like border, the other having a royal crown over it, and being supported on each side by an ostrich plume. The smaller of the two has a flat circular end, with the arms of Stratford engraved upon it, within a laurel wreath. The larger of the two maces has the royal arms enamelled. These maces are peculiarly graceful in form, but the heads are weighted with lead, so that they were intended for use as well as ornament; and it is interesting to know that, within living memory, they have been carried by constables when arresting culprits within the borough boundaries. The grand mace of Norwich, having a number of hexagonal columns of rock crystal to compose the staff portion, and which is decorated with bands of bead pearls, has an open coronet, with four low arches over. It has been placed at a much earlier date than this would indicate. The fact that it is purely an ornament or symbol, having no effective value as a weapon, seems to militate against its earlier origin. I have a fine photograph of the head, and a complete representation in the group of the Norwich corporation plate.

A silver-gilt mace of Coventry, 21 ins. in length, and weighing 36 ozs., is of the time of the Commonwealth. Report says that it is the gift of Cromwell. It is a

curious question for antiquaries to decide, whether the Lord Protector—who said of the parliamentary mace, "Take away that bauble"—really presented this mace to Coventry. It seems pretty clear, however, that Cromwell, after indulging in that premature observation, had a mace made for himself. To return to the Coventry example: the shaft, slightly widening towards the lower end, has three bands or knops. It is richly chased, and the bowl above has upon it the Coventry arms, alternating with the St. George's Cross and the Harp. This bowl is crested with a circlet or tiara of foliage, in open work. The designer has thus avoided the old forms of royalty, the fleur-de-lis and Maltese Cross, while producing a similar effect when seen at a short distance. On the flat plate of head within this circlet, are the arms of the Commonwealth, the St. George's Cross for England impaling the Harp for Ireland.

The examples of maces up to this period are not numerous, probably because public property was not held in such sacred regard as were the vessels of the Church ritual. The former were sometimes lost or stolen, and occasionally were melted for the sake of the precious metal they contained. One of the worst foes of these ancient examples of art was the change of fashion; another danger to which they were exposed was the desire to possess a mace of greater proportions and more elaborate treatment. Many entries of payment to silversmiths for new maces contain the item, "allowed for the old maces". These reasons may account for the paucity of specimens up to the period of the Restoration.

From this time all is changed. The number of maces extant, dating from this period, shows that the whole of the corporate boroughs must have burst forth with a sudden display of their civic dignities.

Enthusiastic Royalists celebrated the accession of the second Charles by gifts of maces, often splendid in character and workmanship, with this inscription beneath the fillet: "The freedom of England, by God's blessing restored, 1660." There was also a new feature then introduced, which may be supposed to express effectively the joy of the people in again having a King to reign



over them. The four bars of the royal crown were now placed above the circlet of cross pattées and fleurs-de-lis, and in centre of the arch or dome caused by their intersection was placed the orb or mound, a globe with transverse band, having the cross pattée upon its summit. We thus have the mace now fully constituted in all its elements as representing the royal authority. The King himself presented a series of maces to the great towns, in which the same features were embodied. Many boroughs already in possession of maces had the addition of the four bars of the crown, with the orb at summit, made to those they had if they did not obtain new ones. The maces of the Carolingian period are of refined form, and from 2 ft. to 3 ft. in length. The Tamworth ones in the county of Stafford are typical examples. They measure respectively  $31\frac{1}{2}$  ins. and 31 ins. in length: they are nearly alike, and on one there are indications of gilding. The column is slender, the head bold, the crown very pronounced, and a delicate set of three projecting scrolls leading up to and supporting the bowl. There are three projecting knops in the shaft, and the delicate shaft admitted of two maces being laid across each other on a cushion, usually of crimson velvet, on the table in front of the Mayor, when sitting in court or in council. On the flat plate at the top are the royal arms of the period, and the lower end terminates in a flat disc on which the arms of Tamworth, an elaborate fleur-de-lis, are displayed. The advantage of this flat end is, that when on special occasions the Mayor or his attendants remained standing, the mace can be easily held erect, the flat disc at the end forming a support upon the table. The head, or bowl, is adorned with the emblems of the three divisions of the United Kingdom, with the fleur-de-lis for France. These emblems have each the royal crown over, and the initials "C. R." on each side. These four symbols are separated by four caryatides, or demi-figures, probably genii. These figures are armless, but they are compensated by the addition of wings, and their bodies terminate gracefully in foliage. The meaning of these figures can now only be conjectured. In the Tamworth examples the heads are unadorned, but in a

very fine Stratford specimen of the same date, the figures are wearing what is called the celestial crown.

As time wore on, the length and weight of the mace generally increased with the wealthier boroughs. With some, however, hampered probably by lack of funds, the former conditions remained with slight alteration. Thus in a very simple one of Flint Borough, the bars of crown are plain, with a bead top. The circlet is simply a series of arrow-heads; the bowl is plain, the staff also plain, with two projecting knops and a large bead end. The flat top of bowl has the arms of William and Mary, with curious combined monogram one side and the double R on the other. With most of the maces from this time onward, until the revival commenced some thirty years ago, the leading principles of construction adopted in the earlier examples became relaxed. Later maces are 4 ft. in length, or even more; the number of knops or projecting bands is greater, the head is enlarged, and becomes shaped like the body of a drinking-vessel. It is not indeed uncommon for corporation maces of the Queen Anne period to be so arranged that the bowl or head shall detach from the main column, and then screw into a foot specially provided, so that it may be used as a "loving cup" at the indispensable civic banquet. The lower end of the mace at this epoch is also swelled out, so as to form a bold corresponding figure to the crowned head at the opposite extremity. The flat disc at the lower end was also replaced by a pointed ornament, whose only use was to complete the form, and which was much more liable to injury. The style of the mace sunk to its lowest level in the huge and corpulent examples of the Georgian period.

I have finished my parable. It is not well or necessary to refer to modern maces before a society of antiquaries, but I will say this: It is to the research and to the interest shown in the work of the past in this particular department of art industry that we owe a revival which bids fair to give new life to an old and important symbol of corporate authority. Antiquaries have done much important work in this direction, and have thus given meaning and direction to artistic studies. The

designer has learned from them the lessons of past ages, and I am fain to believe that the revival in this department of art manufacture is real and genuine ; that it is going upon correct lines ; and that another century will be able to look back upon this for a series of historic maces of which the maker and the artist need not be ashamed.





SOME NEW CONTRIBUTIONS TOWARDS  
THE HISTORY OF THE BENEDICTINE ABBEY  
OF BURTON-ON-TRENT, Co. STAFFORD.

BY W. DE G. BIRCH, LL.D., F.S.A.

(Read 15th August, 1895.)



THE history of this important abbey has been written by many people in many ways. Yet there are several original records which have been overlooked, and of these it is well that the future historian should take cognisance, so I am glad to be able to bring them into notice.

(1) Mr. Wynne's Chartulary or Register of the Anglo-Saxon Charters of the Abbey, at Peniarth, in N. Wales, of which I have printed about twenty deeds in the *Cartularium Saxonicum*, and the whole will appear in due course when that laborious work is finished. This chartulary contains copies of deeds of a period long anterior to the date of the foundation of the Abbey; being, in fact, title-deeds of lands which the founder, Spott, had acquired and conferred on the newly-established Abbey in the eleventh century. The value of these for historical purposes is very great.

(2) The twelfth-century Catalogue of the Library of the Abbey, written on a single leaf of a copy of St. Augustine's works.

I have recently discovered this Catalogue of the Monastic Library, compiled in the twelfth century by the keeper of the Scriptorium. It is written on a fly-leaf of Add. MS. 23,944, which is one of the Abbey books.

## HOS HABET LIBROS ECCLESIA BURTONIE.

- § Bibliothecam in duobus codicibus .
- § Omeliarium ab adventu usque pascha ; ꝛ vitam sancte Modu-  
enne . ꝛ Bernardum super *Missus est* . in uno codice .
- § Psalterium secundum Augustinum in tribus voluminibus .
- § Augustinum de civitate Dei .
- § Augustinum super Johannem .
- § Augustinum de sermone domini . ꝛ de x. cordis . ꝛ contra . v .  
hereses . ꝛ Ieronimum super Josue in uno codice .
- § Augustini exameron .
- § Augustinum contra Julianum .
- § Augustinum de disciplina christianorum . ꝛ ejusdem epistolam  
ad quendam comitem in uno codice .
- § Regulam sancti Augustini a quodam expositam . ꝛ Cantica  
psalterii . ꝛ Hugonem de disciplina novitiorum . in uno  
codice .
- § Hugonem super ecclesiastem .
- § Gregorium super Job in tribus voluminibus .
- § Dialogum Gregorii . ꝛ *Librum* qui vocatur *scintillarum* in uno  
codice .
- § Gregorium super Ezechielem .
- § Pastoralem Gregorii .
- § Librum . xl. omeliarum Gregorii .
- § Registrum Gregorii in duobus codicibus .
- § Ambrosium super *beati immaculati* .
- § Ambrosium de officiis . ꝛ Hugonem de archa Noe . ꝛ Bedam de  
situ Jerusalem . in uno codice .
- § Bedam super Lucam .
- § Hystoriam Anglorum secundum Bedam .
- § Item alium librum vetustiore .
- § Decem Coll. patrum . ꝛ Librum qui vocatur *Paradisus* . in uno  
volumine .
- § Vitas patrum .
- § Robertum super cantica canticorum . ꝛ Sinonimam Ysidori . ꝛ  
Librum Effrem . ꝛ Regulam sancti Basili . ꝛ Decessum Bede  
presbiteri . in uno codice .
- § Item Cantica canticorum . cujus auctorem ignoramus .
- § Pronosticon futuri seculi .
- § Ailredum de omnibus Ysaie . ꝛ Didascalicon Hugonis . in uno  
codice .
- § Speculum Karitatis .
- § Prosperum . ꝛ Diadema monachorum . in uno volumine .
- § Miracula sancte Marie .
- § Vitam sancte Moduenne . quam Martinus scripsit . ꝛ aliam quam  
Briennius scripsit .
- § Item aliam antiquissimam .

- § *Passionale Octobris . ⁊ Decembrii mensis . vitam sancte Katerine . ⁊ sancti Martini . in uno codice .*  
*Sermones Yvonis Carnotensis .*  
*Leviticum glosatum .*  
*Anselmum cur Deus homo .*  
*Item Anselmum de processione Spiritus Sancti .*  
*Rodbertum de corpore et sanguine Christi .*  
*Compotum Gaufridi abbatis .*  
*Interpretationes hebraicorum nominum .*  
*Quendam librum de titulis psalterii .*  
*Vitam sancte Werburge .*  
*Vitam sancti Edwardi .*  
*Vitam sancti Basili .*  
*Vitam sancti Blasii .*  
*Vitam sancti Nicholai .*  
*Vitam sancti Johannis eleymonis . ⁊ librum qui vocatur dominus vobiscum . ⁊ Vitam sancti Dunstani . Vitam sancti Leonardi .*  
*Passionem sancte Agathe et aliorum in magno quaternione .*  
*Vitam sancte Marie Egiptiace versibus insignitam .*  
*Aratorem super actus apostolorum .*  
*Sinonimam Ysidori in parvo libro .*  
*Sex libros sententiarum qui fuerunt Bernardi abbatis .*  
*Duo capitularia vetusta .*  
*Ymnarium cum aureis litteris .*  
*Epistolas apostolorum canonicas .*  
*Omeliarium vetustissimum .*  
*Sermones paschales sancti Cesarii .*  
*Ernaldum de villico iniquitatis .*  
*Martirologia vetera duo . ⁊ unum novum .*  
*Regulas duas vetustas .*  
*Omeliarium Anglicum .*  
*Psalterium Anglicum .*  
*Passionale Anglicum ,*  
*Dialogum Gregorii . ⁊ Historiam Anglorum . anglicam .*  
*Apollonium Anglicum .*  
*Evangelistas Anglicas .*  
*Ymnarium Anglicum .*  
*Hugonem Abbatem Radingensem de quibusdam questionibus*

(3) A collection of many original charters, relating to and belonging to Burton, is contained in the recently-purchased collection of *Stowe MSS.* in the British Museum formerly belonging to Astle, the antiquary, and later to the Earl of Ashburnham. I have incorporated with them notices of other original deeds in the British

Museum (adding thereto notice of one in private hands), and arranged them all in a chronological order.

STOWE CHARTER, No. 102. *Post* A.D. 1114. *Latin.*

GRANT by the abbot G[eo]ffrey] and the monks of Burton-on-Trent to Orm, of land in Stratton, *i.e.*, Stretton, co. Staff., on the same terms as he had held it from abbot Nigel. Witnesses: the chapter of the Abbey, *viz.*, Edwin, prior, Edric, Durand, and other monks, also William *filius* Herbert, William *filius* Nigil, Fulch *filius* Gaswal, Robert *filius* Walchelin, Herbert, "nepos" of the abbot, Ralph de Stapenhill, co. Derb., *etc.*

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ADDITIONAL CHARTER, No. 27,313. *Circ.* A.D. 1120-1126.  
*Latin.*

COVENANT between Robert de Fereres [or Ferrers] and Geoffrey, abbot of Burton-on-Trent, whereby the former constitutes himself protector of the church, and grants to the monks of Burton leave to have two carts for drawing firewood in Neidwode, *i.e.*, Needwood, receiving from them a wood between Balca and Watsaches Broc for 20*sh.* yearly. First made in Stutesberi, or Tutbury, Castle; afterwards confirmed in the Chapter of Burton. Witnesses: Robert Peche, Bishop of Chester [Cov. and Lichf.], William Peverel, whom the King sent to arrange this concord, and others.

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 103. A.D. 1133. *Latin.*

LEASE by Geoffrey, abbot, and the convent of Burton[-on-Trent] to Roger, brother of the monk Gerald, of a house in Burton, formerly held by Frawin, and land in Stratton, *i.e.*, Stretton, co. Staff., given to the church by Alan *filius* Fladald, and in Vulrichestone, *i.e.*, Wolston, co. Warwick, given to the church in abbot Nigel's time by domina Adeliza, *i.e.*, widow of Henry I., on obligation to build a house, chamber, and other edifices on the latter land, and for other services. Witnesses: the chapter of the abbey, *viz.*, Edwin, prior, Jordan, sub-prior, Edric, Durand, Godric, Teodric, Gerald, William, Briennius,<sup>1</sup> and other monks, also Alwin, presbiter, Herbert, "nepos" of the abbot, Frodm[und], Alric, "cook," Ragenald, Aluric, "pistor," Elmel, "pistor," Ascelin, "faber," Elgelram, "portarius."

<sup>1</sup> Author of one of the lives of St. Modwenna, Patroness, as mentioned in the list of the Abbey library.

## SIR ROBERT GRESLEY'S CHARTERS AT DRAKELOW, No. 2.

GRANT by Bernard, abbot,<sup>1</sup> and the Abbey of Burton-on-Trent, to Robert de Gresele, of the land of Derl', *i.e.*, Darlaston by Stone, co. Staff., to hold in fee, and heritage each year for fifty-two shillings; and of the service of Ralph de Caldewalle for five shillings to be paid yearly, and for the free service of his body; half the rent to be paid on St. John Baptist's day (24 June), and half on St. Martin's (11 Nov.). In return for this grant, Robert and his heirs owe homage and fealty to the Abbey and Church of Burton. Witnesses: *First*, the Chapter itself, Jordan, prior, Martin, Wm. de Duninton, Richard, Richard, Richard William, William and the rest of the monks. *Next*, Robert, priest of Staph' *i.e.*, Stapenhill; Wm. de Grochesham, Nicholas, chaplain, Walter de Sumervill, Walter de Muntgumbere, *etc.*

STOWE CHARTER, No. 104. A.D. 1160-1175. *Latin.*

GRANT by Bernard, abbot, and the convent [of Burton-on-Trent] to Reginald de Sancto Albano, of land [in Stretton] formerly belonging to Gamel de Stratona, *i.e.*, Stretton, co. Staff., *viz.*, five bovatae of "warland" and nine acres of "inland", with other lands and a pear-orchard, and land in Burton on which to build a house. Witnesses: the chapter of the abbey, *viz.*, Jordan, prior, Ralph, "sub-prior," Martin, "sacerdos." Richard ii., Richard iii., Richard Engin, *etc.*

STOWE CHARTER, No. 77. A.D. 1160-1175. *Latin.*

LEASE by Bernard, abbot, and the convent of Burton [-on-Trent], to Richard de Bersicote, *i.e.*, Bearwardcote in Etwall, co. Derb., of the land which his father John had held of them; with licence to make a mill in Bersicote. Witnesses [on the back]: the Chapter itself, *viz.*, William the prior, Owen the sub-prior, Martin, William the "cantor," *etc.*; also Robert de Stapenhell, *i.e.*, Stapenhill, co. Derb., Ailwin, chaplain, Reginald, chaplain, Ralph de Chaldwell, *i.e.*, Cauldwell, co. Derb., Leising de Brontestone, *i.e.*, Branston, co. Staff., *etc.*

STOWE CHARTER, No. 49. Late twelfth century. *Latin.*

QUIT-CLAIM by Stephen de Bello Campo, *i.e.*, Beauchamp, to Burton [-on-Trent] Abbey of the village of Cotes, Coton in the Elms, co. Derb., which he had unlawfully seized. Witnesses: John de Cadomo [Caen], Geoffrey de Wiverdestun, Hugh "clericus de Derebi", Michael, servant to the prior of Tutesberia, *i.e.*, Tutbury, co. Staff., *etc.*

<sup>1</sup> Ob. 1175.



STOWE CHARTER, No. 68. *Temp. Joh. Latin.*

LEASE by John *filius* Henry *fili* Gode de Tutesbiri, *i.e.*, Tutbury, co. Staff., to Richard *filius* Swain de Winsul, *i.e.*, Winshill, co. Derb., of lands in Winsul, the rent to be paid partly to the said John and partly to the abbot of Burton[-on-Trent]. Witnesses: Robert de Bursicot, *i.e.*, Bearwardcote, co. Derb., Robert de Lucy, Robert *filius* Ernald, etc.

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 55. A.D. 1188-1197. *Latin.*

LICENCE from Nicholas de Wilenton, *i.e.*, Willington, co. Derb., to N[icholas], abbot, and the convent of Burton[-on-Trent] to strengthen their fish-ponds at Finderne, *i.e.*, Findern, co. Derb., promising never to build a mill there and guaranteeing them against damage from the mills at Potlac, *i.e.*, Potlack, near Findern. Witnesses: Matthew, "capellanus" of Baucewell, *i.e.*, Bakewell, William de Verner, Robert de Stokeport, etc.

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 56. A.D. 1188-1197. *Latin.*

LICENCE by Robert de Toke to N[icholas], abbat, and the convent of Burton, to strengthen their fish-ponds at Finderne, co. Derb., promising never to build a mill there and to prevent the mills at Potlac, near Findern, from injuring their stews. Witnesses: Matthew, chaplain of Baucewell, *i.e.*, Bakewell, William de Verner, Robert de Stokeport, and others.

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 53. A.D. 1197-1210. *Latin. Seal.*

MEMORANDUM of lease held by Richard, "clericus" of Findern, co. Derb., from William Melburne, abbot, and the convent of Burton[-on-Trent], of land in Findern, and of his resignation to them of other lands therein. Witnesses, besides the whole convent, Mag. Roger "seniscallus", etc.

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ADDITIONAL CHARTER 27,314. *Circ.*, A.D. 1200-1210.

NOTICE by William Milburne, abbot of Burton, that the King, *i.e.*, John, has granted leave to the abbot and convent of Burton to make a town there, and that all who accept burgages from them in that street which goes from the great Bridge at Burton to the new Bridge at Horningelawe, *i.e.*, Horninglow, shall pay rent at the rate of 12*d.* per burgage; a burgage being defined as 24 x 4 perches. Witnesses: Henry, parson of Etewelle, *i.e.*, Etwall, co. Derb., Ralph, parson of Stapenhill, co. Derb., Adam Marescallus, etc. The abbot's seal is appended.

STOWE CHARTER, No. 85. A.D. 1204-1235. *Latin*. Two seals.

DECLARATION by Philip Marci [*v. Magna Carta*, cap. 50] and Anna [Serjaffini his wife that they lease the village of Parva Oure, *i.e.*, Littleover, co. Derb., of the abbot and convent of Burton[-on-Trent] for life only, and that they have delivered to the abbot and convent a copy of the charter by which they hold it, which shall be valid against any contrary contention by themselves or their heirs. Witnesses: Walter [de Senteney], abbot of Dala, *i.e.*, Dale Abbey, co. Derb., Bartholemew, prior of Totesbiri, *i.e.*, Tutbury, co. Staff., William de Vernon, Mag. Stephen de Radecliue, Mag. Robert de Seka, Ralph Grim and others.

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 123. *Temp. Hen. III* (early). *Latin*.  
Portion of seal.

LEASE by Roger de Huncedona, *i.e.*, Hanson Grange, co. Derb., to the monastery of Burton[-on-Trent] of several parcels of land in Wythmere, *i.e.*, Wetmoor, co. Staff., at an annual rent of a pair of gloves of the value of one penny, for the improvement of their kitchen. Witnesses: Dom. William de Greselega, *i.e.*, Church Gresley, co. Derb., "miles", William de Esseburn, *i.e.*, Ashbourne, co. Derb., seneschal of the abbot, Roger de Nortona, [? Norton under Caunock, co. Staff.], Ralph de Caldwell, *i.e.*, Cauldwell, co. Derb., *etc.*

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 50. *Temp. Hen. III*. *Latin*.

NOTIFICATION by William Seruelauey, of Derby, of a lease to him by the abbot and convent of Burton[-on-Trent] of land in Derby formerly held by Walter, son of William "tinctor", of Esseburn, *i.e.*, Ashbourne, which he with consent of Ynga his wife, and Symon their son, wholly resigned on setting out to the Holy Land; the rent to be paid partly to the Chamberlain of the Abbey and partly to Ralph de Frescherevile, *i.e.*, Freshville, lord of Alwaldeston, *i.e.*, Alvaston, co. Derb. Witnesses: Thomas "juvenis", of Derby, William "juvenis", William de Chaddesden, and Symon Kolle, "prepositi", of Derby, Thomas Chous, *etc.*

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ADDITIONAL CHARTER, No. 27,317. Time of Henry III.

GRANT by Nicholas, son of Nicholas, Knt., of Wylinton, *i.e.*, Willington, co. Derb., to the church of St. Mary and St. Modwenna the Virgin, at Burthorn, of land in the vill of Wylinton in frank almoign. Witnesses: D. Robert de York, D. Norman de Suleney, John de Stepelhull, seneschall of Burthorn, D. Richard de Venables, Robert de Cestresyria.

WOLLEY CHARTER, No. IX., 24. *Temp.* Henry III.

RELEASE by Nicholas, son of Nicholas de Wilenton, of Potlac Mills, co. Derby, from rendering services to the Abbey, *etc.* Witnesses: William de Vernun, William de Mongomeri, Sewale son of Henry, Geoffrey de Bakepuz, *etc.*

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 61. A.D. 1223-1229. *Latin.*

NOTIFICATION by Nicholas *filius* Walkelin de Henover, *i.e.* ? Rough Heanor, near Mickleover, of a lease to him by Richard de Insula, abbat, and the convent of Burton[-on-Trent] of land in Magna Oura, *i.e.*, Mickleover, co. Derb., called Crosforlong, with rights of herbage in the wood called Merwineswode and of common pasture in Magna Oura. Witnesses: Robert *filius* Walkelin and Henry his brother, Robert de Tok, Robert de Bella fide [Beaufoy], Symon de Sancto Mauro [Seymour], Nicholas de Breideshale, *i.e.*, Breadsall, co. Derb., constable of Thuttesbiri, *i.e.*, Tutbury, co. Staff., *etc.*

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## ADDITIONAL MS., No. 6688, p. 428. 10 Hen. III.

FINE between the abbot of Burton and H. Tuschet, concerning right of common in Mickle-over, Mackworth, and Markeston.

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 82. A.D. 1223-1229. *Latin.*

LEASE by Richard *filius* Avicia de Branteston, *i.e.*, Branston, co. Staff., to Elyas, "janitor" of Burton, of land in Branceston. Witnesses: Richard de Insula [de Lisle], abbot of Burton, John de Stapenhull, *i.e.*, Stapenhill, co. Derb., his sereschal, Robert de Bursicota, *i.e.*, Beardwardcote, co. Derb., Hugh Bulloc, Nicolas de Oxonia, Richard "miles", *etc.*

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 58. A.D. 1226. *Latin.*

AWARD of the priors of Wirkesoph, *i.e.*, Worksop, co. Notts., Pontefract, co. York, and Blith, *i.e.*, Blyth, co. Notts., acting under authority from Pope Honorius III, by which the vicarage of Magna Owra, *i.e.*, Mickleover, co. Derb., is assigned to the abbat and convent of Burton[-on-Trent], on payment of seven marks to "magister" R—— de Burton, Vicar of Magna Owera. Witnesses: R[obert], prior of Lenton, co. Notts, H——, dean of Ratford, *i.e.*, Radford, co. Notts., "magister" Godfrey de Rupill, Thomas, chaplain of Blyth, *etc.*

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 59. 10 Henry III, 30 Sept., 1226. *Latin.*

FINE from Richard [de Lisle], abbat of Burton[-on-Trent], to Roger Le Breton and his men of Rughedich of rights of common pasture, excepting their goats and pigs during the acorn season, in the manor of Magna Vure, *i.e.*, Mickleover, co. Derby, and in Parva Vure, *i.e.*, Littleover, co. Derb., and land in Basingerys in return for the right of clearing sixty acres of land in Syortegrave, near Mickleover, subject to certain rights of free entry and pasture. Made at Nottingham before Hugh [de Wells], Bishop of Lincoln, Stephen de Segrave, Robert de Lexinton, William fitz-Warin, and William Basset, justices in Eyre, the Morrow of Michaelmas.

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ADDITIONAL MS., No. 6674, fol. 207. A.D. 1227.

GRANT to the abbot of Burton of Freewarren in Mickle-over.

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 80. A.D. 1229-1260. *Latin.*

AGREEMENT between Laurence [de S. Edwardo], abbot, and the convent of Burton[-on-Trent] of the one part, and Eva, daughter of Reginald, "prepositus" of Bronciston, *i.e.*, Branston, co. Staff., of the other, whereby the abbot and convent lease to the said Eva lands in Bronciston (part adjoining Hykenildestrete, *i.e.*, Ickneild Street) for life, in return for a quit-claim by the said Eva of lands in Sobenhal, *i.e.*, Shobnal, near Burton, co. Staff., which came to her as dowry from Jordan *filius* Herbert, her late husband, Witnesses: John de Stapenhill, co. Derb., William de Tatenhull, *i.e.*, Tatenhill, co. Staff., Roger de Huncedon, *etc.*

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 125. A.D. 1229-1260. *Latin.*

LEASE by Laurence [de S. Edwardo], abbot, and the convent of Burton[-on-Trent], to Ralph, formerly chamberlain to abbot Nicholas [de Wallingford], of a house and lands which he had formerly occupied in Wichtmere, *i.e.*, Wetmoor, co. Staff., and Stretton, co. Staff., at the same rent as before, for his life only, his wife Sybil retaining her dower in it if she survive him; with a grant to him of common herbage for six oxen, and a rent of twelve pence to their daughter Matilda. Witnesses: Robert de Acouere, *i.e.*, Okeover, co. Staff., Robert de Toke, John de Stapenhull, *i.e.*, Stapenhill, co. Derb., seneschal, *etc.*

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 45. A.D. 1229-1260. *Latin.*

QUIT-CLAIM by Thomas, rector of Appelby, *i.e.*, Appleby, co. Derby, to Laurence [de S. Edwardo], abbot, and the convent of Burthorpe, *i.e.*, Burton-on-Trent, co. Staff., of tithes, Peter's pence

and other payments formerly claimed by him from the abbey tenants in his parish, including fourpence for every marriage ceremony. Witnesses: Dom. Geoffrey de Appelby, Walter de Streton, *i.e.*, Stretton, co. Derb., William, parson of Stretton, *etc.*

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 60. A.D. 1231-1260. *Latin.* Seal.

GRANT by Thomas de Maddelega, *i.e.*, Madeley, co. Staff., to Laurence de S. Edward, abbot, and the convent of Burton[-on-Trent] of lands in Magna Overa, *i.e.*, Mickleover, co. Derb., which he had recovered from them at Nottingham before the Justices in Eyre by writ of *mort d'ancestor* in 16 Henry III, 1231-1232; and quit-claim of other lands in the same place which he had claimed at the same time. Witnesses: Dom. Ranulph de Ferrariis [Ferrers], Dom. Geoffrey de Gresel' [Gresley], Dom. Robert de Tok, Dom. Robert de Warda, *etc.*

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 101. A.D. 1231-1260. *Latin.* Portion of seal.

QUIT-CLAIM by Matthew de Sobenhall, *i.e.*, Shobnal, near Burton, co. Staff., and Matilda his wife, to Laurence [de S. Edwardo], abbot, and the convent of Burton[-on-Trent] of all their land in Sobenhall for the life of the said Matthew; in return for a corrody in the Abbey, *viz.*, free serjeanty with food and clothing for his life, and a bushel of wheat and half a mark of silver every fortnight to his wife and children. Witnesses: Dom. Geoffrey de Gresel, *i.e.*, Church Gresley, co. Derb., Dom. Robert de Tok, Dom. Robert de Warda, John de Stapenhull, *i.e.*, Stapenhill, co. Derb., seneschal.

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ADDITIONAL CHARTER, No. 27,318. *Latin.* Dat. Morrow of St. James Apostle (26th July) A.D. 1247.

RELEASE by John *filius* Radulphi de Stapenhull to Dom. Laurence de Sancto Edwardo, abbot of Burton and the monks serving God there, of six acres in the vill of Stapenhull, *i.e.*, Stapenhill, co. Derb. Witnesses: D. William, brother of the releasor, and Vicar of Bromley [co. Staff.], John de Bersicot.

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LORD FREDERIC CAMPBELL'S CHARTER (Brit. Mus.), No. IV, 15. A.D. 1248.

ACQUITTANCE to the abbot Laurentius and convent for the ferme of Findern, co. Derby.

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 124. 14 Kal. Mart., *i.e.*, 16 Febr., 1255.  
*Latin.*

NOTIFICATION by John *filius* William de Meleburn, *i.e.*, Melbourne, co. Derb., of a lease to him by the abbot and convent of Burton[-on-Trent], of land in Withmere, *i.e.*, Wetmoor, co. Staff., formerly held of them by Roger de Huncedon, *i.e.*, Hanson Grange, co. Derb., at a rent of one penny to their cook. Witnesses: Dom. Peter de Thok, John de Bersicot, *i.e.*, Bearwardcote, co. Derb., Henry Butavant, Robert *filius* Roger de Huncedon, *etc.*

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 81. Late thirteenth century. *Latin.*

NOTIFICATION by Henry *filius* Geoffrey de Bronciston, *i.e.*, Branston, co. Staff., of a perpetual lease to him by the abbot and convent of Burton[-on-Trent], of his father's messuage in Bronciston. Witnesses: Ralph de La Bache, seneschal of Burton, John *filius* John de Stapenhill, William de Winishill, *i.e.*, Winshill, co. Derb., Ralph "ad finem ville" de Winishill, *etc.*

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 83. Late thirteenth century. *Latin.*

LEASE by Margery, daughter of Elyas "janitor", of Burton, and formerly wife of Ralph "clericus", of Stapenhull, *i.e.*, Stapenhill, co. Derb., to John de Bronteston, *i.e.*, Branston, co. Staff., and Parnel his wife, of land in Bronteston, which her father received from Avicia de Bronteston, daughter of Roger *filius* Godwin, to be held on perpetual lease of her eldest son William. Witnesses: Ralph de La Bache, Ralph de Burgo, William de Tatenhull, *i.e.*, Tatenhill, co. Staff., *etc.*

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 109. *Circ.* A.D. 1270. *Latin.*

GRANT by William de Acouere, *i.e.*, Okeover, co. Staff., to John "serviens coquinari" of Burthorpe, *i.e.*, Burton-on-Trent, of lands in Stretton, co. Staff. in perpetuity, at the rent of a rose yearly on the feast of St. John Baptist, 24th June. Witnesses: Elyas de Stretton, Symon de Whytmere, *i.e.*, Wetmoor, co. Staff., John Gubert of Horninglowe, *i.e.*, Horninglow, co. Staff., *etc.*

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ADDITIONAL CHARTER, No. 27,315. Burthorpe, Kal. Aug., 1273.  
*Latin.* Seal of Abbot John and of the Abbey.

DEED OF ENFRANCHISEMENT by John Stafford, abbot of Burton, and the convent, of all burgages on both sides of the road called Bradeweie in the vill of Burton. Witnesses: Ralph de la Bache; Simon de Wythmer, Matthew *filius* Willelmi.

ADDITIONAL CHARTER, No. 27,319. *Temp.* Edw. I. *Latin.*

GRANT by John Chulle of Burton, to Henry, son of Robert Le Lauender of Burton, of a burgage in the vill of Burton, for yearly payment of fifteenpence to the abbot of Burton. Witnesses: Ralph de la Bache, Henry de Tunstall, clerk, Walter de Scobenhall, *etc.*

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 52. *Circ.* 1275. *Latin.* Seal.

BOND given by Hugh de Gurney to the abbot and convent of Burton[-on-Trent] for his appearance with his wife Elizabeth before the Justices of the King's Bench or the Justices in Eyre for execution of a conveyance of his land in Findirna, *i.e.*, Findern, co. Derby, the abbot and convent paying his costs on the occasion; the bond to be executed by the Sheriff of Nottingham, with power to distrain on Hugh's goods in default of his appearance. Witnesses: William de Rolleston, sen., Ralph de la Bache, William de Muscampo, *i.e.*, Muschamp, *etc.*

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 54. Octave of St. Hilary, 20th January.  
3 Edw. I, 1275. *Latin.*

FINE by Hugh de Gurneye and Elizabeth his wife to John [Stafford], abbot of Burton-on-Trent, of a messuage and land in Fynderne, *i.e.*, Findern, co. Derby. Made before Mag. Roger de Seyton, Mag. Richard de Stanes, John de Cobbeham, and Thomas Welond, *i.e.*, Weyland, Justices.

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 62. *Temp.* Edward I. *Latin.*

GRANT by John de Cornera of Derby to the abbat and convent of Burton-on-Trent, of a tenement which he held in fee of them in Parva Overa, *i.e.*, Littleover, co. Derby, together with the rent and service paid to him by Roger de Walton, co. Derby, in respect of a tenement held of him in the same place. Witnesses: Dom. William and Dom. Giles de Meynil, milites, John de Chandos, Dom. de Rodburne, *i.e.*, Radbourne, co. Derby, Magister William *filius* Robert de Henovere, *etc.*

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 70. A.D. 1281-1305. *Latin.* Seal.

QUIT-CLAIM by Matthew *filius* William le Knist of Tatinhul, *i.e.*, Tatenhill, co. Staff., to Thomas [de Pakinton], abbot, and the convent of Burton[-on-Trent], of land in Brontiston, *i.e.*, Branston, co. Derby, and Winishull, *i.e.*, Winshill, co. Derby, with various services thereto annexed. Witnesses: Ralph de Burgo, *i.e.*, de Burgh, Robert de Pipe, Richard de Barton, "clericus", Robert *filius* Henry de Vttokishath', *i.e.*, Uttoxeter, co. Staff., William de Bosco-Calumpniato, *etc.*

STOWE CHARTER, No. 63. A.D. 1281-1305. *Latin.*  
Abbey seal.

GRANT of a corrody by Th[omas de Pakinton], abbat, and the convent of Burton-on-Trent to Aldusa, *alias* Hawisia, wife of Henry *filius* Richard de Huncindon, *i.e.*, Hanson Grange in Alsop, co. Derby, *viz.*, a house and land in Bronciston, *i.e.*, Branston, co. Staff., if she survives her husband, together with a bushel of wheat every three weeks for her life and a cart-load of fire-wood every year; in return for the tenement which her husband had released to the said convent. Witnesses: Stephen de Yrton, *i.e.*, Kirk Ireton, co. Derby, Ralph de Alsop, co. Derby, Hugh Bonsergant of Thorp, co. Derby, *etc.*

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ADDITIONAL CHARTER, No. 27,316. Burton, 12 Kal. Mai, 20th  
Apr., A.D. 1286. *Latin.* Abbey seal, *etc.*

DEED OF ENFRANCHISEMENT by Brother Thomas [de Pakington], abbot, and the convent of Burton, of the burgages from the house which was John Le Norreis's to the royal road called Ykenilde-strete or Icknield Street, in the said vill., for yearly rent at 12*d.* per burgage; and notification that Richard le Webbe holds, rent free; two burgages in Sywardesmer in exchange for an acre of meadow in Staniholm; and assignment of a special road for certain burgesses in Sywardesmor. Witnesses: Ralph de Burgo, seneschal of Burton, William Pichart of Newton [-Solney, co. Derby], William de Bosco-Calumpniato.

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 84. A.D. 1281-1305. *Latin.*

NOTIFICATION by William Pollard, sen., of Brontiston, *i.e.*, Branston, co. Staff., of a lease granted to him by Thomas [de Pakinton], abbot, and the convent of Burton-on-Trent, of land in Brontiston formerly held by Henry *filius* Geoffrey; in return for which he quitclaims the rent which he used to receive of them for the same land. Witnesses: John de Brontiston, William Pollard, jun., Richard Phelip, *etc.*

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 88. A.D. 1281-1305. *Latin.*

LEASE by Thomas [de Pakinton], abbot, and the convent of Burton-on-Trent, to Richard *filius* Robert de Stretton, in Burton, co. Staff., of land in Horniglowe, *i.e.*, Horninglow in Burton, co. Staff. Witnesses: William de Sparham in Wytmere, *i.e.*, Wetmoor in Burton, co. Staff, Roger Bulloc in Stretton, William Gobert in Horniglowe, John "ad finem ville" de Horninglowe, *etc.*



LORD FREDERIC CAMPBELL'S CHARTER (Brit. Mus.), No. v. 17 dors.  
After A.D. 1309.

MEMORANDUM of a release to the Abbey in Burton and Horninglow, co. Stafford.

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COTT. CHARTER, No. II, 26 (34). *Circ.* A.D. 1319.

COPY of a letter from the abbey and convent to King Edward II.

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 71. Sunday after the Feast of St. Gregory,  
14th March, A.D. 1344. *Latin.*

INSPEXIMUS, by the "officialis jurisdictionis spiritualis" of Burton Abbey, of a grant by Nicholas *filius* Robert le Clerk of Wyncull, *i.e.*, Wincull, co. Derb., to William Gerard, of Burton-on-Trent, of land in Wyncull. Witnesses to the grant: John del Warde and Maurice le Irenmonger of Wyncull, and Robert Lucy of Stapenhill, *etc.* Dat. at Wyncull, Friday, the feast of St. Gregory, Pope, 18 Edw. III, 12th March, 1344. Witnesses to the inspection: Dom. Richard de Assheburn, *i.e.*, Ashbourne, co. Derb., Dom. John de Felde, Dom. Robert Flygh, chaplains, *etc.* Dated in the conventual church of Burton.

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 57. Houndhill, Monday the Vigil of the Purification, 30 Edw. III, 1st Feb. 1356. *Latin.*

LEASE by Henry de Hambury, *i.e.*, Hanbury, lord of Hounehull, *i.e.*, Houndhill in Hanbury, co. Staff., to William Gilbert, carpenter, Agnes his wife and Henry their son, of a messuage in Houndhill, formerly held by Henry de Weston and Thomas Pye, and of lands in Houndhill.

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ADDITIONAL MS. No. 6673, p. 397. 34 Edw. III.

AGREEMENT between the abbot and convent of Burton and Edw. Chandoy concerning Stretton Mill.

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ADDITIONAL MS. 6165, pp. 37, 41, 45, 185. 2, 9, 12, 25 Henry VI.

INQUISITIONES de terris abbatiæ de Burton.

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ARUNDEL MS., No. 26, art. 31, fol. 47. Without date, but about A.D. 1427. *Latin.*

CHARTER for the improvement of the decayed revenues of the Abbey of Burton-on-Trent.

STOWE CHARTER, No. 86. Caldon, Michaelmas, A.D. 1427. *Latin*.  
Small seal.

LEASE for twenty years by the abbot and convent of Burton-on-Trent to John Pope of Caldon and Maiota his wife, of a barn and land in Caldon, *i.e.*, Cauldon, co. Staff., formerly held by John Bee.

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ADDITIONAL MS., No. 6165, p. 137. 34 Henry VI.

INQUISITIO de temporalibus abbatiæ de Burton post cessionem Radulphi Henley, abbatis.

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 87. Burton-on-Trent, 19 Apr., 5 Henry VII, 1490. *Latin*. Seal of Rocester Abbey.

LEASE by the abbot and convent of Burton-on-Trent to George Caldon, abbot, and the convent of Rocester, co. Staff., of a chapel and land in Caldon, *i.e.*, Cauldon, co. Staff., for forty-one years.

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ADDITIONAL MS., No. 6666, p. 60. A.D. 1502.

ABSTRACT OF LEASE by the abbot of Burton to H. Flaket, of Hunsendon Grange.

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STOWE CHARTER, No. 73. Dat. 8th July, 13 Henry VIII, A.D. 1521.  
Signed by the arbiters. *English*. Seals (one fragmentary).

AWARD of Sir Walter Gryffyth, knight, and John Wystowe, gent., arbiters between William [Bone], abbot of Burton-upon-Trent, and William Schenette of Pakynton, *i.e.*, Packington, co. Staff., labourer, concerning land in Wynsell, *i.e.*, Winshill, co. Derb., by which the latter is required to release the land to Thomas Cromewell, of Burton-upon-Trent, receiving from the abbot 40s.

Among the better-known collections in the Museum, I may mention :—

COTTON MS. Vespasian E. III.

ANNALES Monasterii Burtonensis in comitatu Staffordiensi, tempore Æthelridi Regis Anglia fundati per Wlfricum cognomento Spot, ab A<sup>o</sup> 1004 ad annum 1263.

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COTTON MS. Faustina, B. VIII, art 6, f. 127.

QUÆDAM de prole Hugonis Comitis Cestriæ, et de Abbatia de Burton.

COTTON MS.    *Vespasian E. III*, art. 16, fol. 211.

INDICULUS Abbatum Burtoniensium.

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HARLEIAN MS., No. 358, art. 22, fol. 40.

CARTA Æthelredi Regis Anglorum.

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COTTON MS.    *Cleopatra, E. IV*, f. 238.

REPORT of Sir William Basset concerning St. Modwen's at  
Burton-upon-Trent.

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ADDITIONAL CHARTER, No. 6674, f. 266.    34 Hen. VIII.

MINISTERS' ACCOMPTS of the possession of the Abbey of Burton.

In conclusion I would like to suggest to any local society which charges itself with the publication of ancient county records, that this large series of deeds, viz., Mr. Wynne's and that of the British Museum, with a few others, might well form a very interesting little work, designed to take the form of a supplementary volume to be distributed among its members.



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that subsequently mentioned in the records as "lying at West Mylls". The art of weaving was, however, only imperfectly known in England at that time, the cloth manufactured being of a very coarse and common kind, and the industry materially declined during the subsequent reigns of the early Plantagenet Kings.

It was to King Edward the Third that our ancestors were chiefly indebted for the re-establishment and development of so profitable an occupation as the clothing business in Newbury and other parts of the kingdom. He had observed, during his journeys on the Continent, the successful results achieved by the French and Flemish manufacturers of woollen cloth, and therefore resolved to promote and improve this important textile trade by giving every possible encouragement to skilful Flemish weavers, fullers, dyers and others, to settle in England for the instruction of his own subjects. The woollen manufacture being thus re-established under the special protection of the King, who, although almost constantly engaged in war, laboured to improve the commerce and manufactures of his people, became a productive source of industry and wealth, and was pursued with great success at Newbury. At that time cloth-making was lucrative, and the means, in fact, by which the town was chiefly supported. Immense fortunes were made, and in many instances nobly spent, for we owe some of our finest churches, best endowed schools, and other charities, to the Merchants of the Staple. And here we may remark that, as the duty on wool still formed a principal source of the royal revenue, by an Act passed in the 27th year of Edward III (1353), certain towns were appointed as *staples* or markets for wool, and to one or other of these all wool was henceforth to be taken, that there the tax on it might be duly collected. Before this time, Calais had been the *staple* town to which wool and all such commodities from England were exported, and there the duties of the Crown were received. The above-named statute was passed, however (as the preamble sets forth), in consequence of "the damage which hath notoriously come as well to us, and to the great men, as to our people of the realm of England, etc., because that the staple of

wools, leather, and woolfels have been holden out of our said realm, and also for the great profits which should come to the said realm if the staple were holden within the same and not elsewhere."

The principal place in London for the sale of wool was in Holborn, near what is now called "Staple Inn". The principal articles of commerce, from being sold there, came to be called "staple articles", and they who dwelt in them were in due time called *Merchants of the Staple*.

In the sixteenth century, the town of Newbury was noted as one of the largest seats of the clothing manufacture in the kingdom; and it was the production of a superior kind of broadcloth which signalised our popular hero and benefactor, the patriotic clothier, John Winchcombe, who for three centuries, if not for a longer period, has been distinguished by the familiar appellation of "Jacke of Newberie". The names of other local worthies in the clothing trade at this period are not yet forgotten in the town, and bear ample testimony to the success which attended the spirit and industry of the clothiers of those days; some of them became possessors of large estates in this county. One of these, Thomas Dolman, built the beautiful Elizabethan mansion known as Shaw House, who could exclaim in the words of another distinguished clothier—

"I thank God, and ever shall;  
It was the sheep that paid for all."

The Guild or Fraternity of Weavers, as we have said, existed in the reign of Henry VIII; and it is recorded by Delaney that when "Jack of Newbury" had the honour of receiving Henry VIII and Queen Katherine at his house in Northbrook Street, in 1518, the weavers received the royal party so heartily that the King gave them permission to take four bucks out of his park at Donnington Castle for their annual feast; but though the latter is still continued, the gift of venison is quite a matter of ancient history. These guilds or associations, like so many industrial regiments, were quartered in each town, each with its own self-elected officers. Their duty was to exercise authority over all persons professing the

trade of the Guild. They were to see that no person sold articles which he had not been educated to manufacture. They determined the prices at which articles were to be sold. Above all, they were to take care that the common people really bought, at the shops and stalls, what they supposed they were buying. That cloth was true cloth, of honest texture and lawful length; in short, they looked to it, in the supply of man's necessities, that honest dealing should be faithfully observed. By "Special Grace and Favour" these privileges were confirmed by Royal Charter to the "Fellowship of the Weavers at Newbury", as previously mentioned, by Queen Elizabeth in the year 1601, who by Letters Patent ordained for her heirs and successors that none should exercise the trade of weaving within the said town except as were first admitted thereunto by the Guardians and Society of Weavers. As a matter of course, the brethren had their festive day. England peculiarly claimed the name of "Merrie England" in those times. These sterling men worthily sustained the reputation of the old town. The annual feast days of the Company appear to have been celebrated in a very festive and lavish manner in the seventeenth century, and would indicate that the trade of the place was then in a very flourishing condition. Baskerville, the Berkshire antiquary, in describing a journey from Abingdon to Southampton shortly after the execution of Charles the First, in speaking of Newbury, says :—

"They are a very sociable people, and to increase trade do keep great feasts, each several Company, they and their wives, feasting together, especially the Clothiers and Hatters. For coming one day through the town and staying at the "Globe" Inn to dine, one of the Companies, they and their wives, after they had heard a sermon at Church, were met at the "Globe" with the town music, who playing merrily before them, the men in their best clothes followed them, and after them, the women in very good order, two and two, neatly trimmed and finely dressed, all in steeple crowned hats, which was a pleasant sight to behold."

It is easy, by the bye, to trace the derivation of many of the old Newbury names from the clothing trade, such as Kember or Kimber, Tucker, Weaver, Fuller, Dyer, Packer, Taylor, Gager, Sherman or Shearman, etc.

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**THE OLD CLOTH-HALL, NEWBURY.**

The endowment of the Company consists of the "Weavers' Arms", in Cheap Street, and the adjoining house, devised by Dixon and Deale, two members of the fraternity. By the will of Dixon, dated 1624, his trustees are to pay the sum of 6s. 8d. per annum to the Rector of Newbury for the time being, for preaching a sermon on the Weavers' Feast Day, and a further sum of 6s. 8d. towards the expenses of the said chartered festival. The remainder of the income is expended in providing the annual feast and in clothing, or its equivalent, to the members of the Company, who now only number about twenty brethren.

The eldest son of a freeman of the Company can claim his freedom by patrimony, which is otherwise obtained by apprenticeship of seven years to a freeman.

We have still standing in our midst a memorial of by-gone generations of clothworkers in Newbury in the singularly picturesque old structure known as "The Old Cloth Hall"; but this very interesting connecting-link between the present and the past is in a very dilapidated state, and remains uncared-for and neglected. The date of its erection is uncertain, but its architecture bespeaks it to be of the Jacobean period, or possibly somewhat earlier. The upper part is supported by oak columns or piers, the intervening spaces being closed up with brickwork splayed on either side of the pillars, with a series of semicircular wooden arches on the exterior wall between the columns, introduced as ornament; and above is a bold cornice on large projecting brackets or trusses, richly carved with grotesque heads.

In 1792, when the clothing interest was being rapidly extinguished in Newbury, the Weavers' Company, in order if possible to revive the manufacture, issued an advertisement setting forth that they had agreed to disannul their powers and right of settling the price which any person in the trade should give for making any kind of goods, and giving free liberty for strangers to come into the town and to manufacture silks, muslins, cottons, linen, worsted, etc., without any interference from the Company of Weavers. This announcement concludes with the following paragraph:—

"Newbury is a town well supplied with water, and an extraordinary good market to supply its inhabitants with every accommodation that can make life comfortable, and it is well situated to carry on an extensive trade, having an easy conveyance to and from London by the River Kennet.

"THOMAS HOBSON } Wardens."  
 "SAMUEL HIGGS }

But it was too late, for the trade had been rapidly declining from the middle of the last century, and in course of years one improvement after another was introduced into the manufacture of woollen cloth. Then came the introduction of machinery, and with it the factory system, spinning-jennies, carding machines, and like inventions, due to the spirit and industry of the clothiers in the large manufacturing districts of the north, which brought about an exodus of the distressed weavers of Newbury, and the Weavers' Company became but a shadow of the once influential brotherhood who exercised such potent sway in the olden time.

A few items of corporate insignia are still possessed by the Company, namely, the beadle's silver-mounted staff of office, with the inscription: "Robert Layle, Richard Canins, Wardens, 1706"; and a belt with the Company's arms elegantly engraved on a silver shield, worn by the beadle at the annual festival. But the most interesting relic of this ancient confraternity is an old woollen pall or hearse-cloth of sage green, about six yards long by three wide, and having in the centre the armorial bearings of the Weavers:—*Azure, on a chevron argent, between three leopards' heads or, each bearing in the mouth a shuttle of the last, as many roses gules, seeded of the third, barbed vert.* Motto—WEAVE TRUE WITH TRUST. The word TRUE appears to be erroneously used for TRUTH—the arms and motto, with this exception, being the same as the Weavers' Company of London. Above is the date "1693". This is a piece of very fine needlework, and exhibits a favourable resemblance to mediæval embroidery. The charges are worked in gold silk; and what adds to its interest is the fact that it is a specimen of the hand-weaving of the clothiers of Newbury at the time of

William and Mary, and the shield of arms a production of the old silk factory at Greenham Mills.

Many a more durable token, however, have the old clothiers of Newbury, who daily congregated at the picturesque but sadly neglected old Cloth Hall, left behind them of their readiness to dispense with a ready hand a portion of the wealth thus honourably accumulated—the name of Winchcombe is inseparably connected with our noble Church, and everywhere around us alms-houses and other institutions testify to some act of piety or charity of “the men famous of old time dealing with the principal and noblest staple of all these islands, woollen cloth.”





## NOTE ON ENGLISH ROMANESQUE ARCHITECTURE.

BY J. PARK HARRISON.

(Read December 2nd, 1896).



**MISTAKE** in the identification of the two towers at Lincoln, called respectively St. Peter's at Gowts and St. Mary le Wigford, which Mr. E. A. Freeman believed were those belonging to the churches stated in *Domesday Book* to have been built after the Conquest, forms the principal obstacle to the reception of a pre-Norman date for English masonry and ornament, when differing much from early Saxon work.

The late Precentor Venables discovered Mr. Freeman's error so far back as 1890, and communicated a lucid refutation of it to the British Archæological Association, at the Lincoln Congress, when discussing a paper on local Saxon work by Mr. Loftus Brock, and it was printed in full in the current number of the *Journal*. The correction appeared also in an abbreviated form, with Mr. Venables' approval, in a pamphlet on "English Architecture before the Conquest", three years afterwards.<sup>1</sup> But the supreme importance of the discovery seems to have been overlooked, and the far-reaching consequences of the mistake entirely escaped recognition, or has been greatly under-estimated. As a consequence, these two early towers, being supposed to be dated examples of late Saxon work, though the only ones that exist, block the way to archæological research, and all but forbid any re-examination of the remains of churches which are

<sup>1</sup> Published by H. Frowde, Amen Corner, E.C., p. 25.

known to have been founded by our later Saxon kings and bishops, and very probably contain portions of original stone-work, or architectural features that were copied by Norman builders.

This would be especially likely to occur in the case of churches founded or rebuilt in the first half of the eleventh century, towards the end of which period Mr. J. H. Parker, in his latest publication, admitted that Saxon architecture was by no means behind Norman, either in regard to ornament or masonry, but rather the reverse.<sup>1</sup>

I propose, then, to recount in this Note, very briefly, Precentor Venables' important discovery of the incorrect date which has been given to the two towers; and that all the more earnestly in view of the fatal archæological consequences that continue to attend Mr. Freeman's mistake.

On the occasion above referred to, Precentor Venables reminded the meeting that Mr. Freeman had assigned to the Lincoln towers a date subsequent to the Conquest, and regarded them as the work of a certain Colswegen, who is mentioned in *Domesday* as having received land outside Lincoln from the Conqueror, on which he built thirty houses and two churches. In Mr. Freeman's own words:<sup>2</sup> "From the Conqueror he (Colswegen) received as a grant a piece of land beyond the river, on which, at the time of the *Survey*, thirty houses, the beginning of the lower town, had risen; and for their inhabitants he built two churches: churches which stand high above the other buildings of shire and city in deep and thrilling interest, the source of the interest which invests them, or rather their towers, for that is all that remains of them, is the proof given by their presumed date that 'they rose under the hands of Englishmen in the ancient style of Englishmen'."

"Now in what direction (Mr. Venables asked) does documentary evidence point? Let us first look at *Domesday*, and see what that says. In Mr. C. Gower Smith's translation, p. 4, we read thus: 'Colswain has in the city of Lincoln four tofts of land . . . and outside

<sup>1</sup> *A B C of Gothic Architecture*, 4th Ed., note, p. 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Towns and Districts*, p. 210.

the city he has thirty-six houses and two churches, to which nothing belongs, he having built them on the same uncultivated land which the King gave him, and which was never before built upon.' On which side of the river Colswegen built his houses and churches the *Survey* was entirely silent.

"*Domesday* saying nothing as to the situation of Colswegen's grant, we must look elsewhere for indications of its position. The late Mr. Ross, whose *History of Lincoln* (still unhappily only in manuscript) is one of the chief treasures of Lord Oxenbridge's library at Burton Hall, states as an unquestionable fact that the land bestowed on Colswegen was 'the Eastern Morass' on the north bank of the river. . . .

["This] Eastern Morass was the tract of swampy ground lying between the present 'Monks' Road' and the river. Here stood two churches, St. Peter's-by-the-Pump and St. Austin's-at-Baggerholms, which Mr. Ross states to have been those erected by Colswegen. As both of these churches, in consequence of the decay of the city, were demolished early in the sixteenth century, there are no architectural data for testing this statement. Its truth, however, is abundantly proved by the fact that one of the churches, that of St. Peter-by-the-Pump, together with a large tract of land, was given by Colswegen's son, Picot, to the Abbey of St. Mary at York. . . . The last vicar was one Bracebridge, in 1446, to whom no successor was appointed, the parish having become destitute of people. The other church, St. Austin's, also fell into decay from the same cause, and, as I have said, was taken down in 1533-4."

Mr. Venables sums up his proofs as follows:—"I think it will be allowed that this gift of land and a church in this particular locality to St. Mary's Abbey, by Picot, Colswegen's son, establishes the truth of Mr. Ross's identification of the Conqueror's grant with the 'Eastern Morass', and of the churches built by him with those named above."

Now as the general disbelief in the existence of any better architecture than the Lincoln towers previous to the Conquest is founded on the erroneous identification







THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.  
(From Cotton. MS., Tiberius, C. VI.)

so conclusively corrected by Canon Venables, I venture to draw the careful attention of archæologists to the architectural detail in the accompanying two Plates. It belongs to the first half of the eleventh century, when, according to De Caumont, a great improvement took place in Western Romanesque, principally due to intercourse with the East. I need scarcely say that the edifice which represents the "Holy Sepulchre" (from the illuminated MS. *Tiberius C. vi.* in the British Museum) is mainly ideal. Professor Westwood, however, believed that it and other architectural designs of the same period were drawn by artists who also worked in stone and metal. It is allowable, then, to direct attention to features like the spiral pillar, and the circular windows over round-headed ones apparently in a lofty wall, to the early cushion caps and zigzag mouldings, and to the other features that closely resemble work at Waltham Abbey, which, according to Mr. Burges, formed part of Harold's design for his church, though much was copied and restored subsequently by the Norman abbots of the new foundation, c. 1077; very much as has been shown by me to have been the case in Oxford Cathedral.<sup>1</sup>

The second Plate of architectural detail from various illuminated manuscripts, formed part of the illustration of the pamphlet above alluded to.

The details in this Plate that call for special attention from their bearing a resemblance to Norman work, are the following:—

The lofty pillars and arches (figs. 2, 4, 7); the rounded capitals (figs. 2, 4, 6, 7); square turrets (figs. 4, 5, 6, 7); engaged shafts to doorways (fig. 7); a sacred cradle in form of a church, with clear-storey, aisle and side turrets (fig. 5); round-headed windows with side-shafts (fig. 6); diaper work (figs. 1 and 3); label, decorated with small arches (fig. 8); a battlement (fig. 6); arch, ornamented with pellets (fig. 9); string, with saw-tooth moulding (fig. 12); band, or string, with zigzags and dots (fig. 11); chevron-carving (fig. 13); foliage (fig. 5).

These features occur in the following MSS., none being

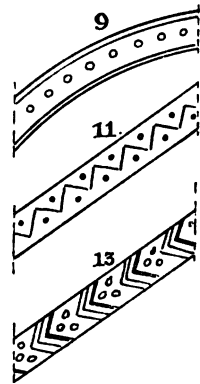
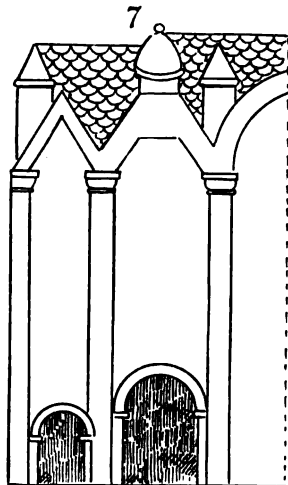
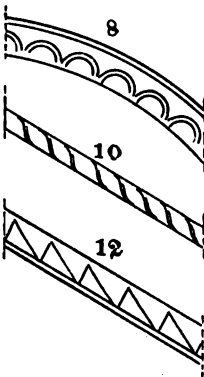
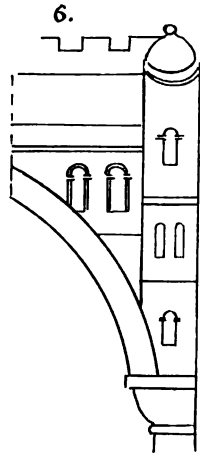
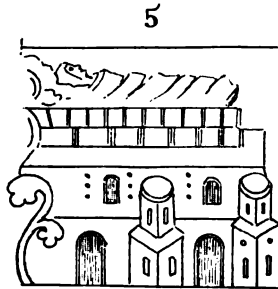
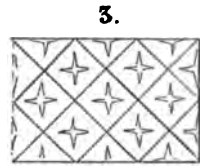
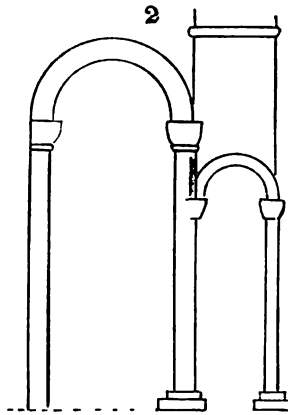
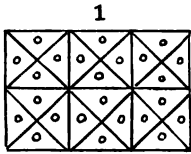
<sup>1</sup> *Archæologia Oxoniensis*, Part 1. Frowde, Amen Corner, E.C.

later than the first half of the eleventh century; and nearly all in the early part of it :—

- i. Psalter of King Athelstan, B. M. (fig. 5).
- ii. Ælfric's Anglo-Saxon Pentateuch. Cotton MS., Claudius, B. iv (figs. 4, 10, 12).
- iii. Cædmon's Paraphrase. Bodleian, Junius 2 c. (figs. 1, 2, 13).
- iv. Dunstan, Cotton MS., Claudius A. 11 (figs. 8, 13).
- v. Psalter, Cotton MS., Tiberius C. vi (figs. 5, 6, 9, 11).

Similar architectural details have also been met with in twelve other illuminated MSS. of the same early date.









## MAN'S ADVENT IN AMERICA.

BY DR. A. C. FRYER.

(Read November 4th, 1896.)

“**W**HO were the mound builders?” has been long a vexed question. Dr. Franklin attributed them to De Soto and his followers. Some, however, have declared they were burial structures built by some tribe now lost in oblivion; others have said they were sacrificial altars, or, at any rate, temples. All have declared they were built by some prehistoric race distinct from the Indians, who were driven out by the latter.

In 1858 Major Powell began a careful examination of the mounds in Ohio, and Professor Cyrus Thomas and his assistant have carefully continued the work. This labour has been completed. It is now believed the Indians were two separate races, and one tribe landed on the Pacific coast while the other arrived on the Atlantic side. All the artificial works known as “mounds” found east of the Rockies are now considered to be the work of those tribes found in possession of this region at the time of its discovery, and their ancestors. They may have had intercourse with the people who inhabited Mexico and Central America, as well as the Pueblo tribes; but the credit of building the mounds must be given to the Indians and not to these latter-named races.

De Soto found all the Indians between Florida and Western Arkansas raising maize and vegetables. The same may be said of the district from Florida to Massachusetts. From the Atlantic to the prairies, and from

the great lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, the Indians originally depended for food upon agriculture rather than the hunt. Consequently, in early times, they had stationary towns. Doubtless their buildings were simple, but the fact that the chief villages had council-houses, temples, and grain-houses, indicated a certain degree of permanency. Since the coming of the white man the Indian has degenerated, and instead of having fixed villages and depending upon agriculture he is now roving and unhoused.

The Indians had no traditions respecting the mound builders. Their memories were poor for historical facts, for when the French made a second visit to their land it was found they had forgotten all about De Soto and his expedition.<sup>1</sup>

Some have argued that the Northmen built the mounds. They may have discovered America before Columbus, but they certainly made no permanent abodes or left any people there. Others cannot believe that the Indians could have constructed the larger mounds. They forget, however, that the Indians were able to make great canals, and in Europe still greater works were built by races then in a low state of barbarism.

It has been pointed out by American archæologists that in some southern districts it was not unusual to build dwellings on low terraces, apparently artificial. When death occurred, the dead were placed beneath the earthen floor. The house was then set on fire and a mound was heaped up over the smouldering ruins. The early French explorers state that these houses were built by setting upright sticks in the ground and joining them by interweaving twigs or canes. The rude walls were plastered with clay, and the roofs were thatched. Some of the mounds owe their origin to this custom.

Moscoso<sup>2</sup> visited an Indian town on the Mississippi, and he found a mound of earth used as a protection against floods; and, in fact, each house was built upon a

<sup>1</sup> Between De Soto's expedition and this second visit of the French was only one hundred and thirty years.

<sup>2</sup> Moscoso succeeded De Soto in the command of the Spanish soldiers.

mound in case the dyke should break. This is another reason for the construction of some of the mounds. Professor Thomas has evidence that some Indians, living in the South when first visited by white men, erected mounds for fortifications. It has also been noted that if the fortifications which the Indians were able to build, were burnt down, or allowed to decay, they would appear just as the mounds do to-day.

Many of the mounds must have been constructed after the arrival of the white man. In one in Minnesota was found a silver bracelet, with "Montreal" and "B.C." stamped upon it; also three copper ear-rings, a string of white beads, four common pins, a needle, a small pearl ornament, and a quartz arrow-point. On one in Tennessee three copper sleigh bells were discovered near the skeleton of a child; and in another, in the same district, a steel-bladed bone-handled case knife was unearthed. In a mound in Illinois a brass Roman Catholic medal was found. This object was known to have been made later than the year 1700. A stone containing engraved letters of the Cherokee Indian alphabet was discovered in a mound in the valley of the Little Tennessee. A piece of silver stamped with the Spanish coat-of-arms was found in one in Mississippi; while in a mound in Georgia a piece of glazed Spanish pottery was discovered. In Ohio one of the mounds revealed several skeletons, a gun-barrel, and the metal mountings of the stock. In all the above cases these objects were found at the very bottom of the mounds, and evidently the mounds had not been disturbed since the time they were built.

American archæologists are being convinced that the "mound builders" were the ancestors of the Indians, because no other race inhabited the regions where the mounds exist before the arrival of these two early Indian tribes. Archæological remains point to the fact that these tribes came from across the Pacific.







## CHRISTIAN EMBLEMS FOUND AT TRIER.

BY DR. A. C. FRYER.

(Read November 18th, 1896.)



THE Provincial Museum of Trier is particularly rich in early Christian antiquities, and it contains some one hundred and thirty inscriptions on small marble or stone slabs, which were originally let into the lids of stone coffins. Many of these slabs are quite perfect; others, however, are mere fragments. Most of these inscriptions begin in the usual way: *hic iacet, hic iacet in pace, hic pausat*. The baptismal names are given, and in many cases some Christian emblem or symbol is employed, either above or below the inscription.

The earliest Christian emblem was doubtless that simple monogram expressing the name of Christ by the first two letters, in Greek characters. This served as a sign of the Christian faith, and presented an image of the Saviour to the minds of the early Christians, which perhaps may not have been understood by their heathen persecutors.

The earliest form of this sacred monogram is No. I, and is found in Rome on monuments dating from the early part of the fourth century. No. II is a later form of the X (Chi) P (Rho) monogram, and is found on inscriptions in Rome from A.D. 355. Both these forms of the sacred monogram are met with on the inscriptions at Trier. "With two exceptions", says Professor Hettner, "these inscriptions at Trier belong to the fourth and the early part of the fifth century."<sup>1</sup> Nearly all the Christian

<sup>1</sup> See *Die roemischen Steindenkmale des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier*, von Prof. F. Hettner, p. 142.



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II



III



IV



V



VI



VII



VIII



IX



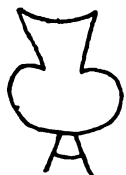
X



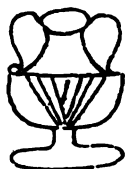
XI



XII



XIII



XIV



XV



XVI



XVII

CHRISTIAN EMBLEMS AT TRIER.



inscriptions in the Museum at Trier have been found in that neighbourhood.

The oldest form of the sacred monogram (No. I) is met with on fifteen of the slabs, and the monogram is usually accompanied by the first and last letter of the Greek alphabet in reference to the verse in the Revelation:—"I am Alpha and Omega, the First and the Last."

The later form of the sacred monogram is found on as many as twenty-six slabs, and in thirteen cases this emblem is accompanied with the Alpha and Omega. On the gravestone to Iledus<sup>1</sup> is only the P (Rho), with the Alpha and Omega enclosed in a circle. The circle was the ancient symbol of eternity, and its form is continually found to bear the same meaning in the representations of Christian art (No. IV).

On the inscription to the seven-year-old *Gaudentiolus*, the sacred monogram is represented with no bow to the P (Rho). This monogram (No. III) has the letter I, the initial of Jesus, added to the Greek χ (Chi). The original stone is in the Museum at Brussels.

A gravestone was found in the year 1845 in St. Maximin, Trier, and is represented in No. XVIII. This stone has no inscription, and the lower unornamented portion was intended to be placed in the earth. Two doves are depicted on either side of a circle. The circle contains a form of the sacred monogram which is met with on a coin of Constantine.

On the slab to the thirty-eight year-old *Valentinus*, and also on the stone to *Babbo*, is a simple Latin cross instead of the sacred monogram. This sacred sign appeared in Rome about the last quarter of the fourth century, and in Gaul about the middle of the fifth century. On the stone to *Valentinus* a dove stands on either side the cross, representing Christians contemplating the symbol of salvation. On the stone to *Babbo* the cross has a tree on one side of it, but, as the stone is damaged it is impossible to know what has been on the other side.

The dove was not only the emblem of the Holy Spirit

<sup>1</sup> The original is in the Museum at Mannheim.

but it was also applied to Christians, in whom gentleness and meekness, the peculiar qualities of this bird, should be conspicuous.<sup>1</sup> It has been pointed out that under the Mosaic Law it was considered the emblem of purity and innocence, and Christ Himself desired His disciples to be "harmless as doves".

The artists who carved the doves on the slabs at Trier had their own ideas respecting the outward appearance of these birds. The author of this paper draws attention to the following:—No. V is a somewhat stately bird, 6 ins. long, and copied from the slab to the memory of *Amantia*. No. VI is a very plump bird,  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ins. long, and taken from the gravestone of a *comes*, while No. VII is copied from the slab to the four-year-old *Marcus*, and is the only instance of the head being turned away. No. VIII is portrayed in the action of walking, and is taken from the tablet to the memory of *Subdiaconus Ursinianus*. No. IX is copied from the slab to *Concordia*. This is a curious-shaped dove, and stands on an olive branch, the emblem of peace and forgiveness. No. X is 7 ins. long, and is from a broken slab found in the Basilica at Trier. No. XI is from an inscription on the opposite side of the stone to the one to *Concordia* (No. IX): it is rudely cut. No. XII is from the tablet to the memory of the eight-month-old *Barbario*, and is  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ins. long.<sup>2</sup>

In three instances doves are represented standing near a vase. This may be symbolical of the waters of salvation; but it may also have a particular allusion to Christians partaking of the cup of salvation in the Holy Eucharist, and refreshing themselves with spiritual nourishment. It has also been suggested that, as in this instance, the vase may signify the human body, the "earthen vessels" spoken of by St. Paul, and the receptacle of spiritual gifts, while the doves represent the innocence and simplicity of the soul.<sup>3</sup>

Three differently shaped vases are found on the slabs at

<sup>1</sup> See Twining's *Christian Symbols and Emblems*, p. 182.

<sup>2</sup> The dove, as a Christian symbol, is found in Rome on inscriptions as early as 268 A.D.

<sup>3</sup> See Twining's *Christian Symbols and Emblems*, p. 183.

Trier. No. XIII is from the tablet to the memory of *Subdiaconus Ursinianus*. No. XIV is from the slab to the thirty-four-years-old *Amelius*, and on the right side only is the dove, while on the left is an olive. No. XV is copied from the stone to the memory of the forty-five-years-old *Genesius*.

Various forms of trees are met with (No. XVI); these are doubtless intended for the olive and the vine.<sup>1</sup> The image of the tree in the Gospels, bringing forth its good fruit and its evil fruit, is employed to describe the deeds of men. Trees may be considered as emblems of the Resurrection, for every spring they put forth fresh life and vigour.

Although the vine was frequently represented in heathen works of art, yet the Christians constantly made use of it,<sup>2</sup> for Christ compared Himself to it in His own words:—"I am the vine, ye are the branches."

The olive was also a heathen emblem, and the victors were crowned with it in the games held in honour of Minerva. Christians, however, considered it to be the emblem of peace and forgiveness; and it was also said to signify the faith of the just, the fruit of the church: probably with reference to the Psalm in which David compares himself to "a green olive-tree in the house of God". Doubtless the early Christians used it in the sense of victory, to encourage the hope of triumph as well as of peace.

St. Augustine and Tertullian both mention the fish as a symbol of Christ (No. XVII). Although the well-known anagram<sup>3</sup> was composed of Greek letters, yet the emblem is only to be met with in Latin monuments. Amongst the early Christians the fish was the symbol of baptism. Tertullian says: "We are born in water, like the fish"; and

<sup>1</sup> Vine leaves and birds compose a border to the slab to the memory of the Presbyter *Aufidius*, found in Trier in 1781, near the Mosel Bridge.

<sup>2</sup> See No. XVI. These trees (olive and vine) are copied from the following slabs in the Museum at Trier:—to the sixteen-years-old *Martina*, to the *Sarracina*, to the seven-years-old *Ursa*, to the thirty-four-years-old *Amelius*, to the four-years-old *Marcus*, to the seventy-five-years-old *Jovianus Vitalis*.

<sup>3</sup> The Greek word for fish was formed of the first letters of the words "Jesus Christ, the Son of God, the Saviour."

in time the baptised came even to be called by that name, as in the hymn of Clement of Alexandria, in which Christ is spoken of as "drawing fish out of the waters of sin." In the Catacombs a fish is frequently met with, and indicates that those who were buried there were baptised Christians. The fish disappears in the monuments in Rome about the end of the fourth century : in Gaul it is met with at a later date.

In Trier only one inscription has been found with the fish upon it. This monument is to *Vicarius Hlodericus*, and dates from the middle of the fifth century. The later form of the sacred monogram is placed at the beginning of the inscription. At the end of the inscription (No. XVIII) is a creature like a crocodile, with feet,



XIX.—Noah's Ark on a Stone Sarcophagus.

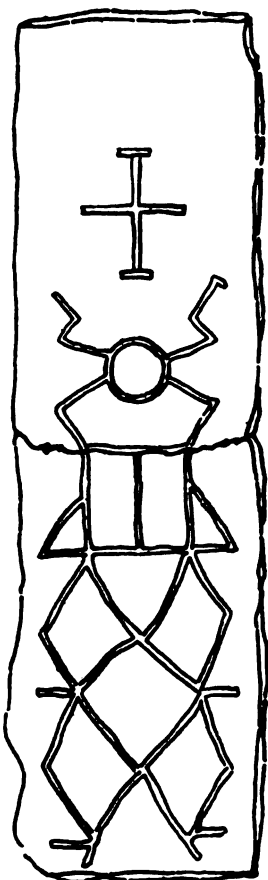
a fish, a bird ; and as the monument is broken we cannot see the whole of another bird.

A frequent type of the Church was the ark in which the faithful are saved, as it swims through the waves of this world. In the Catacombs there is little variation in the design ; Noah appears standing in a square box, or chest, only large enough to contain himself, and he is generally holding out his hands to receive the returning dove. An exception, however, is met with at Trier, where a stone sarcophagus<sup>1</sup> was found in 1780 (No. XIX). The bas-relief on the side of this sarcophagus depicts eight persons and ten animals in a square box. The chief figure is Noah ; he is dressed in the *sagum*, and his right hand is extended to welcome the returning dove.

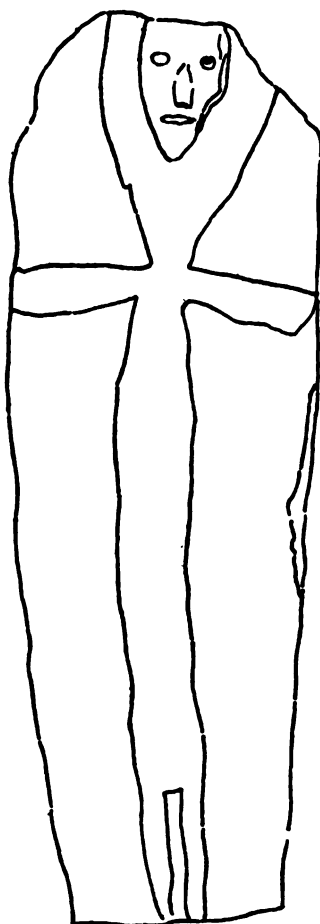
<sup>1</sup> This sarcophagus was found near the church of St. Matthias, Trier. It measures 7 ft. 4 ins. long, 2 ft. 8 ins. wide, and 2 ft. 3 ins. high.



XVIII



XX



XXI

CHRISTIAN EMBLEMS AT TRIER.





His three sons are also dressed in the same costume. Their mother appears as a matron, and the *stola* is placed over her head. Her three daughters-in-law stand behind her. One has her hair fastened in a knot at the back of her head, the other two have wide plaits of hair drawn up from the back of the head to the forehead. A stork, an owl, a horse, a lion, a sheep, a dog, a boar, are represented as well as three other birds. Before the ark stands the raven, and the dove with the olive branch is flying above it. From the arrangement of the hair of two of the sons' wives, it is believed that the sarcophagus dates from the first half of the fourth century.

Nos. XX and XXI are two coffin-lids of red sandstone. No. XX<sup>1</sup> was found at Ehrang in 1890. On the upper portion is a cross, while below is a strange design which it has been thought represents a human figure. No. XXI has a human figure upon it in the form of a cross.<sup>2</sup> This coffin-lid was found at Faha in 1881.

The Museum at Trier contains a large collection of small clay lamps, and a few have Christian symbols stamped upon them. One has a well-defined impression of the older form of the sacred monogram, two have crosses, and one has two palm branches,<sup>3</sup> while several have palm branches encircling the tops of the lamps. In Christian art the palm branch denotes triumph over spiritual enemies.

A glass bowl was found in a stone coffin discovered in an ancient Christian burial-ground at Pallien, near Trier. This glass vessel was found on the breast of the dead, and the hands were laid over it. Engraved in the glass is a representation of the offering of Isaac on Mount Moria. Fire burns upon the altar, and on one side Abraham holds the knife, and on the other Isaac stands with his hands tied behind him. The arm of God is seen in the cloud forbidding the sacrifice, while near Abraham is the lamb. In the background is a building with

<sup>1</sup> This lid is 6 ft. 8 ins. long, and nearly 3 ft. wide.

<sup>2</sup> This lid is 7 ft. 2 ins. long, and 2 ft. 4 ins. wide.

<sup>3</sup> Many grave lamps found in the Catacombs are adorned with palm branches. There is only one slab in the Museum at Trier with a palm branch upon it.

domes, doubtless representing the temple of a later date. The inscription reads, *Vivas in Deo*.<sup>1</sup>

In conclusion, we must not omit to mention the symbols and emblems which adorn the cedar-wood coffin of St. Paulin. The tomb containing the body of the saint is in the crypt of the church of St. Paulin at Trier. This was opened in 1883, and an exact copy of the coffin was made and is now in the Museum. Over the head is a silver plate, with the earlier form of the sacred monogram, the Greek word for "fish", and also a monogram which has not yet been understood. On the long side of the coffin (east) is a silver rosette, with the sacred monogram, and the inscription, "*Eleuthera peccatrix posuit*". On the head end (north) is a silver plate, with a representation of Adam and Eve in Paradise, the raising of Lazarus, and underneath a hunting scene. The inscription reads: *Martiniani manus vi(v)at*. Near to this silver plate is the sacred monogram in gold. The nails in the wood-work indicate that there have been other adornments than those found in 1883. St. Paulin died in the year 358, and in 395 his remains were brought to Trier. The coffin is believed to date from this period.

<sup>1</sup> These words are frequently met with in the Catacombs.





## THE FRATERNITY OF CORPUS CHRISTI, MAIDSTONE.

BY REV. J. CAVE-BROWNE, M.A.

(Read December 2nd, 1896.)



ON the occasion of the late Congress visit to Maidstone, considerable interest was evinced in the ancient building in Earl Street, known as the Refectory of the Corpus Christi Fraternity; and, in compliance with a request then made, I will endeavour to give a fuller account of it than time then allowed.

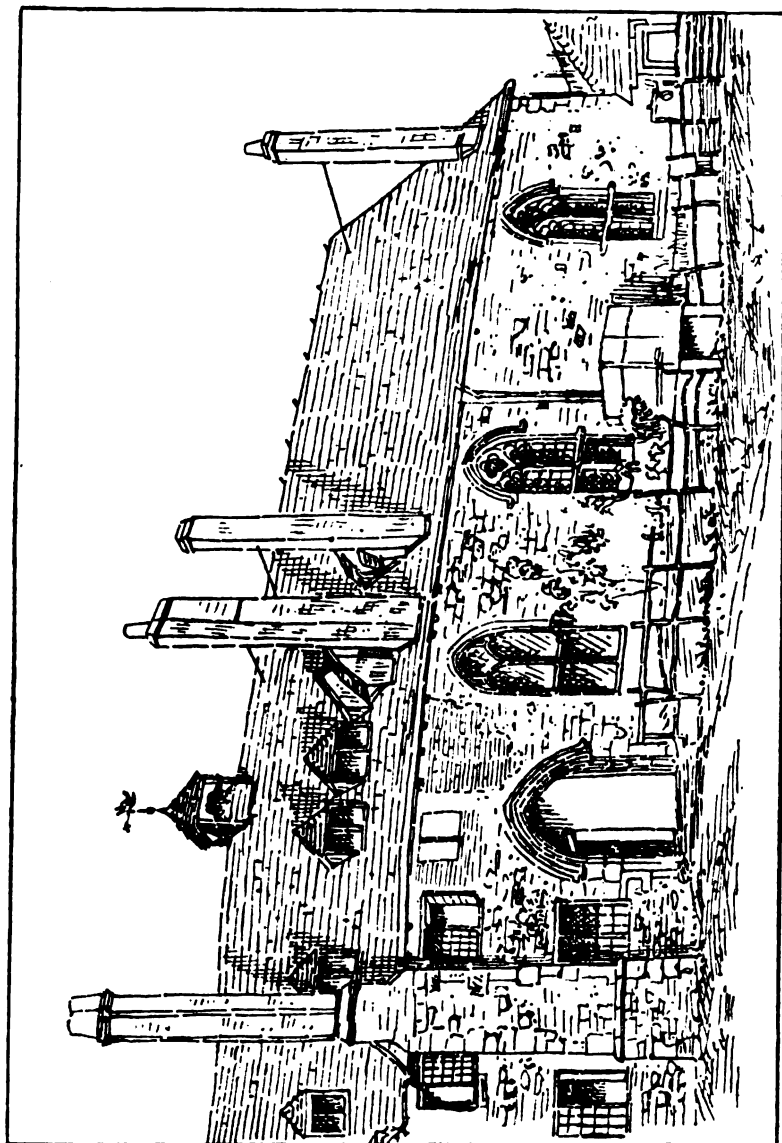
The establishment of Guilds, or Brotherhoods, in England was of very early date. Their object was to promote and protect some industry or trade, as well as to secure the general interest of the members, and to provide pecuniary help in time of need. So popular did they become that on their rolls may be found the names of nobles and princes. That Guild of which I would speak to-night had a more than usually ecclesiastical, if not strictly religious, character. Indeed, it was regarded as the most splendid Festival of the Romish Church, and was distinguished in France by the title of the "*Fete Dieu*", being instituted under the sacred emblem of the *Hostia*, or consecrated wafer, as representing the Body of Christ, from whence it derived its title of "*Corpus Christi*".

This Guild originated with Pope Urban IV, who instituted it in 1261, and it was confirmed by Pope John XXII, in 1318, under the Benedictine Order.<sup>1</sup> Its observance, which was fixed for the Thursday after

<sup>1</sup> Thome Sprotti *Chronica*, pp. 73, 77.

Trinity Sunday, began with a service, or office, said to have been composed by no less distinguished a man than Thomas Aquinas, who was then living. It comprised also a procession of great display, ecclesiastical dignitaries and priests, and even monarchs, deeming it an honour to take part in it. At its head walked a priest bearing a silver pyx containing the wafer, under a rich satin banner, on which were figures of St. George and the Dragon, St. Christopher, St. Sebastian, and other canonized heroes of the church; while the roadway would be strewn with boughs of trees, and the walls and windows of the houses around would be profusely decorated with banners, and crowded with a multitude of admiring and devout onlookers. At certain stages the Procession would pause, and prayers be read to deprecate wind and rain and storm. In the course of the day would be acted miracle-plays and "mysteries". On the whole, it was throughout England, as well as in France, a *Red-letter day*.

One celebration of this Festival, of a very different character, demands especial notice in connection with its disastrous consequences. When Rudolph II, the religious Spaniard, was Kaiser of the Holy Roman Empire, he resolved that this Festival and its procession, which had for some years been suspended, should be revived with the utmost display in 1578. It happened that, during the interval, the traders of Vienna had for some years held undisturbed possession of the great market-place, and had gradually encroached so much with their wares on the central space that sufficient room was not left for the procession to pass. To clear the road, to sweep away stalls and booths with their contents, was the work of a few minutes: but as a principal portion of the mercantile class were supposed to be favourers of the Reformed Faith, then so rapidly spreading, there was a general resistance of what was regarded as a Papistical ceremonial. A riot resulted; forth went an Imperial Edict condemning the whole body of Protestants; a summary expulsion, not unaccompanied with bloodshed, followed. Thus was a high festival turned into a day of mourning.



CORPUS CHRISTI REFECTORY, MAIDSTONE.



In England this Brotherhood had extended itself far and wide. We read of one at York which in the year 1388 could boast of no less than 14,578 members:<sup>1</sup> though this, like many others, has long since died out. But at Cambridge there was one that fared far better, and which to this day survives in the form of a College. Its history may be thus traced. In 1349 was formed the "Gilda Corporis Christi", which a few years after was amalgamated with one still earlier, dating from at least the beginning of the reign of Edward I, called that of "the Blessed Virgin" (Benedicte Virginis Marie), and then assuming a collegiate form was first, and for a long time, known by the older title of St. Benedicte, or Benne't's College, now that of Corpus Christi.<sup>2</sup> At Oxford, too, but at a later date (1517), the piety of Bishop Fox of Winchester led him to adopt the same name for the College which he founded,<sup>3</sup> though this does not appear to have arisen, as at Cambridge, out of any pre-existing Guild or Brotherhood.

We will now pass on to consider that foundation with which we to-night are specially concerned: the "Fraternity of Corpus Christi at Maidstone". There is every reason to believe that this Guild existed in the earlier part of the fifteenth century, for a will of one Richard William, which was proved in the year 1438,<sup>4</sup> contains a bequest to the "Brethren of Corpus Christi" of 10s., a sum equivalent to as many pounds sterling at the present day, and allusion is made to almshouses of the Brotherhood. A charter was granted in 1441 under which it held lands in the town and outside it, even as remote as Romney Marsh on one side and the Isle of Grain on the other, with the use of a chantry chapel in the north chancel of All Saints' Church, Maidstone. The Brotherhood consisted of two wardens, elected annually, a chaplain, and a body of contributory members, who

<sup>1</sup> Haydn's *Dictionary of Dates*, under the word "Guilds". Is there not possibly a typographical error in the figures? as 14,500 would seem to represent the entire population of York at that time.

<sup>2</sup> Dyer's *History of the University, etc., of Cambridge*, vol. ii, p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> Anthony à Wood's *Historia, etc., Oxoniensis*, vol. ii, p. 237.

<sup>4</sup> Newton's *History of Maidstone*.



would now be called subscribers: among them appear the names of the Master of the College, the Abbot of Boxley, the Prior of Leeds, the Vicars of Bredhurst and Thornham, with many of the neighbouring gentry; George Neville, Lord of Abergavenny, Sir Thomas Bouchier, Sir John Pympe, Sir Richard Colpeper and others, besides a goodly array of townsmen.

This is one of the objects of archæological interest in the town, even in its reduced proportions. In the year 1740 there stood (according to Newton) the hall, chapel and cloisters of the buildings which, for above a century, served as their Guildhall, the centre of their Brotherhood life, but of these the hall or refectory alone remains. It is sadly dilapidated, though no ordinary thanks are due to the present owners for the consideration they have shown in using it. The building has had a chequered existence. In the reign of Edward VI it fell into the hands of the Protector Somerset, among the monastic institutions which Henry VIII had suppressed, and was granted to the Maidstone municipality for the purpose of a Grammar School. But being valued at £200, and the Corporation not being able to command that sum, Somerset authorised them to sell the plate, vestments, and other furniture of the parish church in order to raise the required amount. From that time, with the exception of the few years of Mary's reign, when it was resumed by the Crown, it remained till a few years ago the Grammar School of the town, in which many of the present residents of the place were educated.

To adapt it to that purpose, the northern end of the building was partitioned off into private rooms and dormitories, now used as storerooms for hops, etc., and the whole so altered as to render it impossible to assign the several parts to their original uses. But the archæologist has reason to rejoice that, nevertheless, the old hall or refectory retains its original proportions, and very much of its original character, and enough remains to enable us to trace something of its history. This hall is 66 ft. long and 26½ ft. wide. The main entrance from the town was by the doorway on the west side, but

this has been sadly shorn of its beauty, the stonework much mutilated, the lower part of the doorway bricked up some 3 ft. from the ground, and the upper portion filled in with promiscuous panes of glass. But the corresponding door on the opposite side has fared much better, and its hoodmoulding, though crumbled by time, and the windows, tell the tale of their building with singular distinctness. On either wall are three windows, two-light, transomed, gracefully cusped, the mullions retaining in the jambs and the lines the softer curves of the Decorated, which still lingered, before it had altogether been superseded by the harder angular lines of the Perpendicular period, all corresponding closely with the date of the Charter (1414). One singular feature runs through all the windows: on either side of the sill inside are projecting stones like seats, and probably so used for the outlook. At the north end are the three normal doors for the kitchen, the buttery, and the cellar; and, though the dividing partitions have disappeared, the recessed fireplace on the one side and cellar on the other—though the stone steps that erst led down to it are removed—still remain and are used as a coal cellar, silently asserting the existence of the old arrangement. Nor is the Dole-window absent. A little to the right hand of the doorway in the outer wall may still be seen the square jambs of the openings through which the remains of the banquet were doled out to the needy neighbours.

Standing in that spacious building, one half open to the high-pitched roof, the other ceiled during Grammar School days, as dormitories, with its massive cross-beams and kingposts, one can easily picture to oneself how in those days the Brotherhood and their guests, with true English characteristic, blended feasting with their high festival. Nor are we left to conjecture as to style and extent of those banquets. From the Chamberlain's accounts, preserved among the Corporation Records,<sup>1</sup> we learn that in 1474 no less than 119 geese were placed on the festive board, requiring the outlay of no inconsiderable sum, although the price of a goose was only 3d., of a chicken, 1d., a sheep and a half 3s. 6d., half a lamb, 7d.,

<sup>1</sup> Gilbert's *Antiquities of Maidstone*.

and a loin of mutton 3*d*. For the cooking of that dinner seven cooks were required. Then, twelve years after, in 1486, on perhaps a special occasion, it is recorded that there were sixteen cooks engaged, and that they were assisted by thirteen "spyt-wynders". Were these turnspit dogs or kitchen boys?

Among the ancient charters preserved in the Maidstone Museum (the property of Herbert Monckton, Esq., the Town Clerk) is a lease granted by the Wardens of the Fraternity for the year 1459, to which is attached a seal of the Guild, for the technical description of which I am indebted to Dr. Birch, who thus delineates it :—"An angel, with expanded wings, holding before him a shield-shaped banner, in its centre a chalice containing a wafer inscribed with the sacred monogram IHS, and encircled with a radiancy. Supporters, two winged satyrs or wild men winged." The legend appears to have been thus :—" ✠ SIGILLU(M) (FRATERNITAT)IS (CORPO)RIS (CHRISTI) DE MAYDYNST(ON)" (in Lombardic characters).

One other vestige of the home-life of the old Fraternity has been most carefully preserved by the present owners of the property, Messrs. Fremlyn, and has been fully described by Mr. Beale Poste, a distinguished antiquary of Maidstone, in *Archæologia Cantiana*, vol. iv, p. 113. It consists of a lozenge-shaped shield surmounted by a cross within a circle, having the fleur-de-lis at the base. By him it is supposed to have been adopted by one William Lille (or Lilly) as a *rebus* of his own name, introduced in a pious and reverential spirit into an architectural ornament over his own door. William Lilly must have been in his day (in the beginning of the sixteenth century) a very influential member of the Municipality as well as of the Brotherhood, for his name occurs perpetually in official documents.

This old Hall, so interesting a relic and memento of mediæval life, so little known by Maidstonians themselves, is one of which the town of Maidstone may be proud ; and if it should ever fall into the market, might well be secured and converted to some public use, as a Reading-Room or a Library.



## Proceedings of the Association.

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WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 4TH, 1896.

T. BLASHILL, ESQ., V.P., *Hon.-Treasurer*, IN THE CHAIR.

THE following Members were duly elected :—

T. S. Bailey, Esq., School Board for London, Victoria  
Embankment.

John A. Birts, Esq., Westwood House, Welling, Kent.

Mrs. Day, 135, St. Mark's Road, Kensington.

J. Chalkley Gould, Esq., Traps Hill House, Loughton.

W. D. Hoyle, Esq., 13, Gray's Inn Square, W.C.

Mrs. Marshall, 86, Edith Road, West Kensington.

W. H. Pannell, Esq., 13, Basinghall Street, E.C.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents :—

*To the Society*, for "Archæologia", vol. lv, Part 1 ; "Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries", 2nd Series, vol. xvi, No. 1, 1895-6.

" " for "Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects", vol. iii, 3rd Series, Part 3.

" " for "Journal of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland", vol. vi, Parts 2 and 3.

" " for "The Archæological Journal", vol. liii, No. 210.

" " for "Archæologia Cambrensis", 5th series, No. 51.

" " for "Proceedings of the Warwickshire Naturalists' and Archæologists' Field Club." Fortieth Annual Report, 1895.

" " for "Smithsonian Thirteenth Annual Report, Bureau of Ethnology", 1891-2 ; and "Annual Report of the American Historical Association, 1894".

" " for "Transactions of the Exeter Diocesan Architectural and Archæological Society", vol. i, Part 2.

*To the Society*, for "Annales de la Société d'Archéologie de Bruxelles", Tome Dixième, Livraisons iii, iv; and "Annuaire, 1896", Tome Septième.

" " for "Mémoires de la Société de la Morinie", Tome xxiii; and "Bulletin Historique", 1896, Parts 176, 177.

" " for "List of Members of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society".

" " for "Chicago Academy of Sciences", Thirty-eighth Annual Report, 1895; and "Bulletin", vol. ii, No. 2.

" " for "Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society", 1894-5.

*To the Author*, for "List of Monumental Brasses in City of London Churches". By Andrew Oliver, A.R.I.B.A.

" " for "Governor Winslow, his part and place in Plymouth Colony". By Rev. W. C. Winslow.

" " for "County Records of the Surname of Franceis", etc. By A. D. Weld-French.

*To the Editor*, for "The Reliquary", vol. ii, Nos. 3, 4.

Dr. B. Winstone exhibited a curiously-formed horseshoe, found near Theydon Bois, co. Essex.

Mr. George Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, sent for exhibition a collection of Roman antiquities from Burham, co. Kent.

Mrs. Collier exhibited two engravings of the interior of Waltham Abbey Church, showing the condition of the fabric both before and after the so-called restoration. Mrs. Collier also exhibited an antique cornelian, engraved with an animal couchant, and set in a modern gold setting.

Mr. A. Oliver exhibited a leaden insurance plate, or antefix, from Ileyden, and some fine specimens of Battersea enamel ware.

Dr. Winstone read a paper on the "Site and History of Verulam".

Dr. W. de G. Birch, F.S.A., *Hon. Sec.*, read a paper on the "Guild or Fellowship of the Clothworkers of Newbury". By W. Money, Esq., F.S.A., which has been printed above at pp. 261-267. At the close of the paper, Dr. Birch exhibited a token sent by Mr. Money, and read the following note concerning it:—

"I have the pleasure of sending herewith for exhibition to the Meeting of the British Archaeological Association a token of great rarity, and I believe unique as issued by a rector of a parish in the seventeenth century. It reads:—

*Obverse*.—JOSEPH. SAYER. RECTOR ✱ Within a circle the arms of the Borough of Newbury—a castle.

*Reverse*.—OF : NEWBURY : ✱ : ✱ : ✱

"This token, which is of peculiar interest, is generally supposed to have been used for parish purposes, in the same way as those issued by Corporations and private traders at this period. But in explanation of the following entry in the Churchwardens' Accounts for this parish :—

1657-8 Pd. James Ffoster for 300 tokens for	£	s.	d.
Mr. Woodbridge . . . . .	0	3	6

the editors of the *History of Newbury and its Environs*, published in 1839, express the opinion that these tokens were struck in honour of the worthy divine referred to, the Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge, a non-conforming rector of the parish, and add :—"This circumstance strongly indicates the high respect in which he was held by his parishioners, and justifies the observation made in reference to him, that "so eminent was his usefulness as to cast no small reflection on those who had a hand in silencing and confusing him". This Puritan rector, it may be mentioned, was the first graduate of Harvard University, Cambridge, Massachusetts—at least his name always appears first on the list.

"The trade tokens of towns and corporations were in circulation for exactly a quarter of a century ; and in 1672 the farthing of Charles II, of similar size to those now issued, was sent into circulation. The trade tokens were then at once suppressed by Royal Proclamation on the 16th of August, in the 24th year of the reign of Charles II.

"Many years subsequent to this date, viz., in 1713, we have the following entry in the same Churchwardens' Accounts :

Pd. for 1 Dozen of Tokens . . . . .	£0	1	6
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"It is therefore very evident that these tokens were not of the same character as those issued by tradesmen and others up to the year 1672, and the result of my investigations tends to show that the tokens struck for the Rev. Benjamin Woodbridge, Rector of Newbury during the Commonwealth period, and a later rector in 1713, were connected with quite a different purpose, namely, the celebration of the Holy Communion. At this period, and for many years subsequently, it was customary in many parishes for each intending communicant, on some day in the week preceding the celebration, to signify his or her intention to the clerk of the parish to receive the sacrament, and received one of these metal tokens, which were handed in at the time the rite was administered. Hence the Incumbent was prepared for the communicants expected, and their number could be readily recorded."

Mr. C. H. Compton read a paper on "Man's Advent in America", by Dr. A. C. Fryer, which has been printed above at pp. 273-275.

WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 18TH, 1896.

C. H. COMPTON, Esq., V.P., IN THE CHAIR.

The following Members were duly elected :—

Richard Cooke, Esq., The Croft, Detling, Maidstone.

Mrs. Helby, Rowsley, Kent Road, Southsea.

Henry G. Matthews, Esq., Rowsley, Kent Road, Southsea.

John Wornum Penfold, Esq., 30, Great George Street, S.W.

George A. Rogers, Esq., 29, Maddox Street.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the respective donors of the following presents to the Library :

*To the Author*, for "Sutton in Holderness". By Thomas Blashill, Esq., F.R.I.B.A., *Hon.-Treasurer*. Hull. 1896.

*To the Society*, for "Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects", vol. iii, Nos. 15-26.

„ „ for "Archæologia Cambrensis", 5th Series, No. 52.

„ „ for "Archæological Journal", September 1896.

„ „ for "The R. I. B. A. Kalendar", 1896-7.

Miss Turner exhibited a fine example of a Christian terra-cotta lamp of Roman period found in Rome. It bears the emblem of the fish, or *ichthys*, symbolical of Jesus Christ (see p. 279).

Mr. G. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, exhibited two Anglo-Saxon coins found in the churchyard of Hexham, Northumberland. One bears the name of Ethelred ; the other bears the local name of BRID, for Bridport. He also exhibited a bronze portrait medal, in excellent preservation, of Caroline, Queen of George IV.

In the absence of the author, a paper was read on "Christian Emblems found at Trier", by Dr. A. C. Fryer. It has been printed above at pp. 276-282.

WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 2ND, 1896.

T. BLASHILL, Esq., V.P., *Hon.-Treasurer*, IN THE CHAIR.

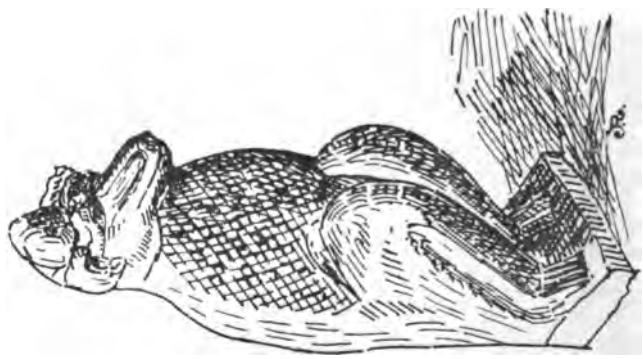
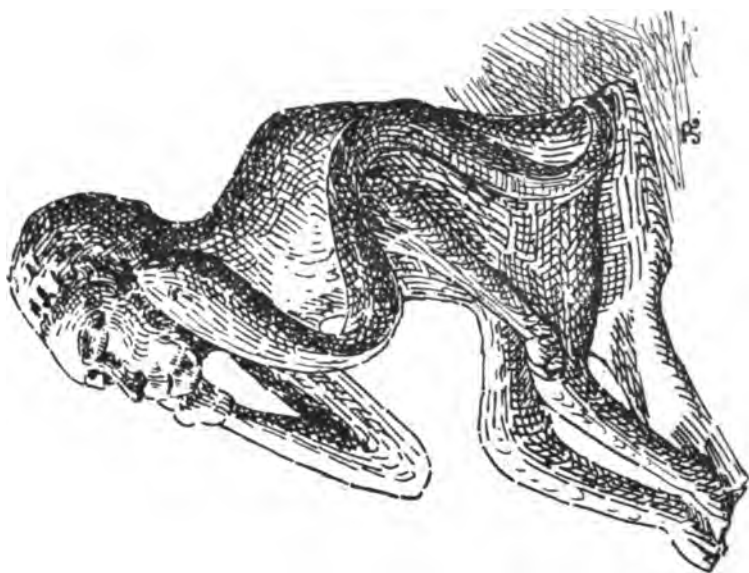
The following Member was duly elected :—

Randall Mercer, Esq., Sandling House, Maidstone.

Thanks were ordered by the Council to be returned to the donors of the following presents to the Library :—







EGYPTIAN TERRA-COTTA STATUETTES.

*To the Author*, for the "Catalogue of the Loan Exhibition of the Brassey Institute, Hastings".

*To the Society*, for "Transactions of the Essex Archæological Society", vol. vi, Part 1, 1896.

Mrs. Collier exhibited a silver coin of Queen Elizabeth.

Mrs. Marshall exhibited two small terra-cotta statuettes from Egypt (see Illustration). One of these appears to be a representation of a baboon god; the other of Horus, somewhat unconventionally treated.

Mr. R. E. Way exhibited a collection of ancient thimbles of the seventeenth century, found in Southwark; also an alabaster vase or box, supposed to be similar to the "box of ointment" mentioned in the Gospels. This object was brought from Egypt by Professor Petrie. Mr. Way also brought some other antiquities of Egyptian origin from the collections of the late Mr. E. P. L. Brock.

Rev. J. Cave-Browne, M.A., read a paper entitled "The Fraternity of Corpus Christi, Maidstone", which has been printed at pp. 283-289.

Mr. J. P. Harrison, M.A., communicated a paper, read by Mr. G. Patrick, *Hon. Sec.*, entitled "A Note on English Romanesque Architecture", which was illustrated with some interesting drawings, and has been printed at pp. 268-272.





## Obituary.

MR. A. S. CANHAM.

It is with regret that we have to record the death of Mr. A. S. Canham, J.P., which occurred suddenly at Crowland, in his sixty-first year. The career of Mr. Canham was in many respects remarkable. Abundant proof of this is found in the fact that he commenced life in the fields at eight years of age, and in his closing days was found occupying a seat on the magisterial bench. As will be well known, Mr. Canham's literary tastes and abilities were of no mean order. He was a corresponding member of the British Archæological Association, and Peterborough Nat. Hist. and Antiquarian Society; and also of the oldest antiquarian institution in the country, the Spalding Gentlemen's Society, before the members of which he read an interesting paper some time ago. He was an authority on matters pertaining to the history and architecture of Crowland Abbey. His library, of which he was justly proud, was one of the best in South Lincolnshire, many of the works, especially those of archæological character, being valuable. He was one of the leading supporters of the Friendly Society movement, and took an active interest in district and parish councils, occupying a seat on Thorney District Council and on Crowland Parish Council. He was also a member of the Crowland School Board. His remains are interred in the graveyard of the Abbey, and the ceremony was performed by the Rev. T. H. Le Beuf, rector.

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## Antiquarian Intelligence.

*Ancient Glass, formerly at the Vicarage of Ashton Keynes, Wilts.*—The devices of Anthony Dunch Hungerford, who held the manor and rectory of Ashton Keynes, in the county of Wilts, under the Crown, are here figured. He was farmer and receiver of these premises. This glass was taken out of the old parlour windows of the vicarage

house at Ashton Keynes, when the bow window was put in by Dr. Briscoe in 1798. The family of Hungerford held the manor and rectory of Ashton Keynes under the Crown for one hundred and eighty-five years—as it would appear by the two leases—(1) By a lease 30 King Henry VIII, 1452, for the term of ninety-eight years, which would last till the year 1550 ; and (2) by a lease in the Augmentation Office, 4 Edward VI, 1550, which grants from the Crown to Anthony Hungerford the manor and rectory of Ashton Keynes for eighty-seven years, which would last till the year 1637, about the middle of the reign of King Charles I.

This, with other information connecting the property with the later owners and family down to the Commonwealth, is in the possession up



Ancient Glass at Ashton Keynes.

to date, of Dr. Briscoe's occupation of the rectory, and alterations made in 1798 was compiled by Dr. W. L. Briscoe, Vicar of Ashton Keynes and Leigh annexed, on Dec. 10th, 1807.

The glass is preserved in a square frame, 9 ins. by 8 ins., enclosing two diamond-shaped panes, divided by heavy lead joinings. The pane to the left represents the three initials of A. D. Hungerford's name, suspended or entwined with cords and tassels ; the letters, gold and brown. The diamond on the left (which is upside down) contains a representation of three sickles in the centre ; a crescent for difference in the middle : this is also coloured brown and gold. The corner pieces of glass appear to be merely coloured blue and yellow to fill up the spaces, though two of them have designs which may have had some reference to the family. A reduced drawing of the glass, showing the existing irregularities, may be interesting, and is here given.

B. F. COLLIER.

*Hereward; the Saxon Patriot—A History of His Life and Character, with a Record of his Ancestors and Descendants.* By Lieut.-Gen. HARWARD. (Stock, 1896.)—The author gives in this work a detailed account of the records relating to Hereward, one of the prominent political personages of late Saxon rule in England. He traces the descent of his hero from the Earls of Mercia, and gives a family history derived from authentic sources, including a pedigree prepared by the late Sir Thomas Phillips, F.S.A. Among doubtful claimants to the blood of the Herewards, the work places the Howards, Dukes of Norfolk, and the Wakes of Courteen Hall, Northampton, and summarily disposes of several other unsupported statements of relationship with Hereward, to whose manly character and love of sports and arms he bears testimony. The jealousy of the House of Godwine; the exile of Hereward in Flanders; his first marriage with Torfrida, a conspicuous figure in the Court of Bruges; his "Camp of Refuge" in the Isle of Ely; his enmity to the Norman, Ivo de Taillebois; his second marriage with Ælfthryth, a Saxon lady of large estates, when "his first wife was probably dead"; his warlike exploits; and his death, form the chief subjects treated in this work in reference to Hereward himself. The etymology and orthography of the name, and an examination of the genealogies which depend upon Hereward, are added, and indicate a very careful research on the part of the author, who is himself descended from the subject of the work. We think that Theobald *de* Hereward, and his son William *de* Hereward, respectively son and grandson of the great Hereward, must be incorrectly so styled: it would be very difficult to conceive *de* prefixed to such a name; *Le* would be more likely correct, considering the true signification of the name, the "army-ward", or "heroes-ward"; "*exercitus custos*". Those who find the study of their pedigrees lead them to the assumption that they have affinity with Hereward and his lineage should by all means examine this work, which, in spite of some weak places and misprints, will afford much valuable evidence for them to sift carefully for themselves. For example, the references to the "Hereward Seals in the British Museum" are really the numbers of original mediæval documents, in which persons of the name of Herward and Harward figure as principal parties, but the author says nothing of the dates of the deeds or the sites to which they appertain.

*Choir Stalls and their Carvings: Examples of Misericords from English Cathedrals and Churches.* By EMMA PHIPSON. (London: Batsford, 94, High Holborn.) This work is a distinct gain to archæo-

logy. It is well and not too pedantically written, accurately illustrated, and beautifully produced. It is, moreover, the first work wholly devoted to the elucidation of the one subject chosen as its theme, and apparently contains a notice of the greater part of the known examples of those interesting objects, the carved *misereres* or choir-stall seats of our cathedrals and churches. We may safely predict a success for the book, and we may as earnestly hope to see a companion volume, or second series of plates, illustrating those described in this, of which no illustration is given. Scattered notices of these objects may be found in most works relating to local antiquities, and our members will call to mind many examples which from time to time have been inspected during our Congress visitations. It has been left to the authoress to treat the subject comprehensively and exclusively. The *miserere* is not always looked at by the visitor; in fact, it is generally passed by with neglect, because he is usually unaware of its existence. Perhaps, however, it is to this fact that very few *misereres* have been injured or mutilated by the vandal fingers of the iconoclast. Yet these relics of the Middle Ages have been long noted for their value in the interpretation of manners and customs, in the study of ancient caricature, and in the elucidation of now forgotten popular literature. When this pioneer list is fully supplemented (as we hope it will be) with additional subjects derived from sources at present not known to the writer, it will form a veritable text-book on the subject. The dates seem to range between the thirteenth and fifteenth century. The subjects are varied, and often comic; for it is a curious fact that religious and comical representation so frequently run side by side. Take, for example, the grotesque corbels and gargoyles so commonly met with in our churches, and the fabulous and mirth-producing designs with which the margins of church-service books are often liberally covered. Among the subjects most generally met with are animals from the Bestiaries, or natural histories, scriptural episodes, classical fables, the seasons (worthy of being compared with those in mediæval calendars), popular and plebeian employments, sports and pastimes, rural and domestic incidents, legends and tales, gnomes, monsters, mermaids, satyrs, dragons, grylli, minstrels and musical instruments, angels, saints, acrobats, demons and scenes redolent of subterranean sulphur, architecture and heraldry. Topsy-turvydom is a favourite theme; apes and animals performing the actions of mankind; the rats hanging the cat; the hare's revenge on his hunter; foxes reading a religious book laid on a lectern in form of an eagle; a fox in the garb of a monk, with a goose stuffed into his cowl; geese hanging their old enemy the fox,

and other similar quaintnesses. The list of subjects will be much appreciated. Some of the scenes seem to be companions, or in sets, and the recurrence of similar subjects in two or more places suggests that the same hand was at work in them.

Mr. Stock has issued a cheap edition of *A History of Nottinghamshire*, by CORNELIUS BROWN, which recommends itself to our readers for its handy form and elegant appearance. The chapters relating to Nottingham in early times, Southwell Minster, Worksop, and the legend of Robin Hood, are of considerable interest. It is not too much to say that the study of English history would be greatly advanced if there were a concise description of every county, such as this is of one of the fairest.

*The Ancient Crosses at Gosforth, Cumberland.* By C. A. PARKER, F.S.A.Scot. (Stock.)—The true meaning, origin, and date of the many sculptured crosses still standing, more or less defaced, in our churchyards and other sacred spots, were scarcely known or understood twenty years ago. Comparatively speaking, their critical investigation is a new study, not at present overrun with workers in the far-off fields of Northern mythology and folk-lore. The present work, well and thoroughly written, is a meritorious contribution towards a comprehensive work on the subject which might soon be taken in hand by a group of editors, and result in a really valuable mytholithic survey of the British kingdom. Scattered notices of such sculptured stones as these, which render up their forgotten story to those who, like Mr. Parker, know how to read them aright, have been given from time to time in our pages. Who will gather up and classify what we and other kindred societies have recorded? If one parish yields so good a glean of these relics, and illustrates so forcibly a large section of Christianity and Paganism, as it was understood among us twelve hundred years ago, what wealth would not a systematic perambulation of the country produce? It is not many years ago that it was suggested to a prominent worker in this field to prepare a preliminary index of ancient sculptures and representations on stone crosses, slabs, tympana, and other cognate remains, with a view to tracing the progress of native religious and legendary art. If this could be done, the crosses of Gosforth, with their Scandinavian deities and demons; their scenes in the life of our Lord; their Baldur, Thor, Hymir and Yggdrasil, and many another myth, would command a prominent place. Were the best of these relics described as carefully and intelligently as these of Gosforth have been, we should have an enrichment of our archaeological knowledge beyond present comprehension.

Mr. W. TURNER has in the press an illustrated book on *The Swansea and Nantgarw Porcelain Works*, which will embody the result of his researches into the history of these old works, with biographical notices of the artists, some account of the potters and others associated with their works, the marks on the wares, a bibliography, and a glossary of terms. It will contain coloured and plain colotype plates, closely imitating the style and mannerism of some of the artists, and thus serve to test the genuineness of other examples and safeguard the collector against false pieces now in the market. Subscribers may communicate with Messrs. Bemrose and Sons, Old Bailey, London. The price is 31s. 6d., at present.

We have also received a reprint of the *Gleanings from the Natural History of the Ancients*, by Rev. M. G. WATKINS (Stock), a work certain to be admired by classical students and archæologists for its extent of scope and numerous examples derived from more or less familiar sources.

*Malvern Priory Church, its Ancient Stained Glass, Tombs, Pavements, and other Antiquities.* By JAMES NOTT (Thompson, Malvern).—This is a sequel to the history of *Moche Malvern*, by the same author, which we reviewed at the time of its appearance, and it honestly deserves to be acquired by all who are the fortunate possessors of its forerunner. Mr. Nott, an enthusiastic antiquary, has gathered up a great deal of information bearing upon the antiquities of his town, and arranged it all in a pleasant, readable, and attractive manner. Malvern glories in its beautiful windows, with the legend of St. Werstan, and other holy histories, wrought in colours that shall never fade. These have found a careful expounder in the author. The tiles, which are abundant and very good in design, may be well lingered over by those who love this kind of mediæval art, of which the Midlands contain so many fine examples. To the notices of Malvern is added some account of the painted windows of Witley Church, and their alleged former ownership by Malvern, and a chapter devoted to the history of Piers Plowman. Mr. Nott must now take in hand the history of some of the surrounding parishes, which are languishing for want of a conscientious writer to take their treasures in hand and describe them before they perish. By so doing he will add to the praise he has already earned.







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